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OUT of what bids fair to be, internationally speaking, a dreary and, in many places of the earth, a bloody, Christmas comes one item to stir American hearts. Here it is:

Berlin, Dec. 11.—American soldiers in the occupied area have contributed 1,000,000 marks toward a fund for providing Christmas cheer to poor German children, says a special dispatch from Coblenz. The money is to be used in purchasing and distributing presents for the children.

There is the real Christmas and, we add, the real American spirit. It not only makes us proud; we are sure that it will do more to convert Germans to a right view of international duties and obligations than all the heavy guns in Coblenz. Moreover, this generous deed is after the manner of Him whose birthday the world is now to celebrate. Strange world that it is! The key to the solution of its ills lies right at hand; it has had that key for 1900 years, yet scarcely touches it and does not know that salvation lies in practicing what we preach when we declare that we are disciples of Him who died that humanity might rise.

CORK in flames, her city hall, Carnegie Library, and other public buildings in ashes, and more of her citizens killed by reckless shooting—this is the product of Lloyd George's scandalous policy of enforcing martial law in Ireland while offering the olive branch of talks with members of the Irish Parliament. Again it appears the work of the Black and Tans in reprisal for a fresh shooting of some of their men. Encouraged to lawlessness by Sir Hamar Greenwood, the Black and Tans have revenged themselves for the attack upon them by destroying the center of the city. What is this but anarchy? Business is at a standstill; transportation is at an end; the city is like a Belgian town under the Germans. This is what Lloyd George calls having "murder by the throat" and upholding law and order for Ireland's good. The only question is how much longer the conscience of England will tolerate it. Were Parliament what it once was, something besides a body of sycophants and place-holders, Lloyd George would not hold office a day longer. How can anyone urge the Irish to accept the olive branch when there is savagery like this in Cork? Yet *The Nation* at least urges that every violent deed by Irishmen reacts upon Ireland, and that from the standpoint of what is possible, any attempt to win her freedom by arms remains utterly hopeless. At that game England can win hands down; she can starve Ireland out in a few months' time. It is by spiritual weapons alone that Ireland can hope to succeed, by the steady, quiet devotion of all her people to the cause of self-determination, and the converting of Englishmen as well. Meanwhile, all England ought to see that the sole immediate way out is by the withdrawal of the garrisons from Ireland as the British Labor Party demands.

NINETY Irish, American, and English correspondents have jointly protested at their treatment by the military authorities in Ireland. Every newspaper man knows that the conditions of newsgathering must be very bad, indeed, before any group of newspaper men will feel inclined to take joint action. It is the habit of the profession to shrug its shoulders and calmly accept censorship or interference. But these correspondents of three nationalities announce that things have become so unendurable that they propose to send a round robin to the governments of all the world, to the several press associations of Europe and America, and to the press generally, because they are not allowed to see things that they should see or to report adequately what comes under their eyes. This cannot be whistled away as Sinn Fein propaganda; it is a startling affirmation of what the witnesses in Washington have been saying as to the misrepresentation of the facts to the detriment of the Irish cause. It is, moreover, in amazing contrast to the statement of Sir Auckland Geddes in his letter of October 23 to the Commission on Ireland that "the British Government has more to gain than any one in insuring that the truth is made known to the whole world." No wonder that the British Government will not allow members of the Commission on Ireland to visit that unhappy island.

THAT an American general should calmly declare that as long as nations are armed to the teeth there "can be no enduring and effective association of the nations for the maintenance of peace," and should add that there can be no successful international court of arbitration "as long as the present military system exists," is enough to make one rub one's eyes. But General Tasker H. Bliss is an unusual general, for he is not a militarist and he is devoted to the old-fashioned American ideals. When his opinion was asked

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by Foch as to what the armistice terms should be, his answer was the historic American one, so well illustrated at Appomattox, that the enemy should ground his arms and go home. As a Peace Commissioner, General Bliss was outside the Wilson pale because his views were so contrary to the President's. Time has completely justified him. Again, there was a curious story going around Paris that General Bliss felt that if the Germans had not started the war the habit of "so many fellows running around Europe with guns in their hands" would inevitably have produced a conflagration sooner or later. General Bliss's extraordinary plea for disarmament which we reprint in large part elsewhere in this issue is quite the most remarkable contribution to the subject yet penned, considering its source and the General's unusual experience. We wish it might be placed in the hands of every member of Congress.

WHAT renders General Bliss's plea for disarmament especially noteworthy is the fact that the United States stands squarely as the great obstacle in the path of world disarmament. It is Secretary Daniels's reckless program for naval expansion which acts as scarecrow for the British Admiralty, in its attempt to frighten the British Cabinet out of common sense into a new era of naval rivalry. It is this same Daniels program which brought Viscount Ishii to his feet at Geneva declaring that Japan cannot agree to check her armament program so long "as there are nations outside the League of Nations not bound by the obligations imposed upon its members." That was his diplomatic phraseology; what he meant in plain words was, "so long as the United States, whether she be in or outside of the League, continues building a navy meant to cow the entire world, centered in the Pacific, and aimed at Japan." And now Josephus Daniels drives Ishii's argument home, by urging a three-year program for the construction of 88 naval vessels, development of Pacific Coast naval bases, and creation of a naval base at Hawaii capable of accommodating 1,000 vessels. Secretary Daniels argumentatively prefaces this demand with a suggestion that it is made because the United States is not entering the League. The fact is that the League has nothing to do with it; our absence from the League does not affect any supposed menace to the United States, but Secretary Daniels's wild, reckless, extravagant proposals do threaten the world and give the world's hope for disarmament the dirtiest possible blow.

ONE of the most significant passages in the President's message was contained in his generous proposal of a loan to Armenia. "I would also suggest," said Mr. Wilson, "that it would be desirable to provide . . . that the expenditure of the money thus loaned should be under the supervision of a commission, or at least a commissioner, from the United States, in order that revolutionary tendencies within Armenia itself might not be afforded by the loan a further tempting opportunity." Thus in one breath the President sought to snatch from Armenia its right of self-determination, to throw his influence and the power of the American dollar on the side of the late government in Armenia, and to offer starvation to the people as the fruit of revolution. Of course, since his teeth have all been drawn, Mr. Wilson's bark is far worse than his bite. Congress is so unlikely to agree to a loan to Armenia on any terms that the value of American money as a political instrument is considerably minimized. In any case, Armenia has now proceeded to make a revolution in spite of the President and by imitating the Russian style of government has apparently indicated that her hope lies with her soviet neighbor to the north and not with any western Power.

HAITIAN newspapers of the days when the Admirals' Court was sitting at Port-au-Prince make distressing reading for Americans who like to think that "American" and "fair play" are terms which still have something in common, and would like to believe that better days were dawning for the distressed island republics. For these papers are full of the bitterest circumstantial complaints against the course of the Naval Court of Inquiry which, so they tell us, did not invite Haitians to appear before it but left it for them to volunteer to testify, and then turned them over to the hated gendarmerie before permitting them to appear. Even the most respected Haitians, it appears, such as M. Constant Vieux, were denounced as cacos and bandits once they presumed to criticize the American invasion and its manners. Many witnesses were refused a hearing, and if the stories printed in these papers are but one-tenth true —and they were printed during the American Occupation, with the threat of repetition of past reprisals staring their publishers in the face—then American colonialism stands condemned forever. Stories of vengeful terrorism, of an American prison guard putting out the eyes of a prisoner, of prisoners made to act as personal servants for American officers, even of prisoners' bodies eaten by dogs, fill these papers. We hope they are not true; at least they impose upon the United States the burning duty of a fearless, searching, unbiased inquiry such as has yet to come.

REPUBLICAN leaders are already making plans to increase the customs duties on foreign imports. It is understood that the Committee on Ways and Means of the House of Representatives will begin hearings in January, in order to be ready to frame a new tariff law early in the special session which Mr. Harding is expected to call soon after his inauguration in March. Increases in the tariff are suggested looking to raise the present revenue of 360 million dollars a year to 500 millions. The proposal is especially foolish at a moment when American industry is suffering from a lack of buyers and business men are trying to develop markets abroad. In order to sell goods abroad we must make it possible for other countries to purchase them. The only way they can do this is by sending us their goods in return. A higher tariff will hinder, not help, this trade, and the European will be less tempted than ever to buy American merchandise, a proceeding that is already exceedingly difficult owing to the unfavorable position of his money in international exchange. Thus England and Germany will step back into the markets which we sustained during the war, and the hope we then cherished of a permanently-expanded commerce will deflate like a punctured tire. Meanwhile the profiteer, secure in his possession of the consumer, will lick his chops and grow fatter than ever.

THE most comforting aspect of Secretary Houston's taxation recommendations is that, coming from a Democrat, they are unlikely to be adopted by a Republican administration. With his tax increases on various forms of tobacco, on candy, chewing gum, theater tickets, jewelry, and other petty luxuries, we are in accord. But these are trifling matters compared with his proposal to increase from four to six per cent the tax on incomes of less than $5,000 and from eight to twelve per cent on those between $5,000 and $10,000. Coupled with his proposal to repeal the excess

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profits tax it makes his plea for "a better distribution of the tax burden" a grim jest indeed. He would increase the already onerous burdens of the moderate wage earner, of the salaried and professional man, of the great middle-class America, beyond endurance, and merely aggravate the existing crisis. Secretary Houston's new tax schedule reveals the serious plight to which the reckless extravagance of every governmental branch has brought us. Two years after the war we are told that the staggering taxes of the past are already deemed inadequate for future needs. Graft, waste, folly are everywhere rampant. Ninety-two per cent of government expenditures—think of it!—are being applied to the cost of past or future wars. Meanwhile President-elect Harding is cheerfully indorsing a greater navy, doubtless the largest in the world. Useless and criminal expenditures on armaments play no small part in the present situation. The high cost of living is in considerable measure the high cost of government. Only when this fact is fully grasped and acted upon will the public secure relief.

"ISN'T it true that the great steel fabricators of the country are in an arrangement with the Iron League Association of New York which prevents absolutely your doing steel construction unless you do it with non-union labor?" asked Samuel Untermyer of the president of the largest construction company in New York. "Yes," replied Mr. Horowitz, "they have advised us that they will not sell steel to any concern except if it agrees to erect it under non-union conditions." And when Mr. Untermyer asked whether, in normal times, there was such a thing as an open shop, whether a shop was not either union or non-union, Mr. Horowitz replied "I agree with your view"; and to Untermyer's insistence, "That is just a blind," said, honestly, "I think the open shop term is used to defeat union labor." Yet there are still those who deny that there is a nation-wide effort to smash organized labor and destroy the unions!

LIFE in Mingo County continues precarious and wretched. The latest development has been the arrest of five men accused of being implicated in the murder of Deputy Sheriff Hatfield on July 14. But it is not necessary to go as far back as July for killings. Two deputy sheriffs, after investigating the shooting in the back of John B. Marcum on December 5, reported that he had been slain by a member of the State police. Deputy Sheriff Whitt was shot and severely wounded by a miner for whom he was lying in wait, the miner himself being shot later by another sheriff. Meanwhile the strikers and their families, living in their miserable tent colonies, are not only cold and probably always hungry, but are occasionally fired at by persons whose identity remains unknown. Besides establishing military control in the striking district, and protecting strike-breakers at the mines with Federal troops, the authorities now propose a health inspection of the tent colonies, not, apparently, out of any sympathy for the inhabitants, but to give an excuse for getting these Valley Forgers away from the mines and the miners. David Fowler, representative of the United Mine Workers, has suggested rather pertinently that "a safe and sane" way to help striking miners in the tent colonies would be to compel the operators "to sit at a conference table" to settle the strike. But nothing of the sort appears imminent. The operators declare they have no intention of recognizing the union and that they will get coal from the mines in spite of the strike. Yet the spirit of the miners, in the face of appalling privations, apparently remains unbroken and this disgrace to our civilization continues.

"BACK of every display of diamonds and pearls is sheer vulgarity," wrote Dr. Frank Crane in the New York *Globe*, and to make his offense worse he added that "the possession of jewelry is an invitation to crime." This was apropos of a lady who had been robbed of $767,000 worth of jewelry, much of which she was wearing. Whereupon the Morse International Agency, which handles the advertising of the Gorham Company, protested to the *Globe*. The *Globe* very properly replied that it did not censor its writers. This brought from the Agency the reply that "the Gorham advertising is withdrawn from the columns of the *Globe* because of the apparent irresponsibility of the *Globe's* departments, and Dr. Crane's in particular." The *Globe* printed the letter. As a sample of a naive and frank attempt to control editorial policy by advertisers it is a gem; such control is usually subtler.

IT might have been expected that when the National Civic Federation got round to its investigation of the Episcopal Church it would first of all fall upon some such divine as Dr. Bernard Iddings Bell, president of St. Stephen's College, an admirable scholar and an enlightened man, whom the Federation accuses of such fearful offenses as thinking that man's activities are determined by sex and hunger urge, that those who shut their eyes to the coming social readjustments are stupid, and that the sociology of St. Paul was largely bosh. The Federation, of course, accuses him of other "offenses" which he never "committed"—as he admits he "committed" these—and, of course, the Federation refrained from consulting Dr. Bell before making its report to his bishop. True to form, the Federation preferred to work in the dark. The militant inanity of this behavior can be compared to nothing else in the recent news except the warfare that Horatio Bottomley, M. P., is just now waging upon the Poet Laureate for keeping silent on the occasion of the burial of the nameless soldier in Westminster Cathedral.

IT rains Nobel prizes this year. To Knut Hamsun and Carl Spitteler is now added the name of a third recipient, the Spanish dramatist, Jacinto Benavente. Two of his plays, "The Bonds of Interest" and "The Passion Flower," were presented in New York last season and two series of his plays have appeared in English under the editorship of John Garrett Underhill. Thus even readers and theater-goers unacquainted with Spanish need by no means be ignorant of Benavente's work. That work displays a cold, keen fancy and an acidity of characterization that often makes an impression of power. But warmth, depth, largeness of vision or spiritual force are notably absent. The choice of Benavente following that of Spitteler inclines one to believe that the givers of the Nobel prize, in perfect good faith and not perhaps quite consciously, avoided the possibility of friction by picking neutrals. The distinction that was given to Björnson and to Hauptmann is a little tarnished. For a moment's reflection will show that of the living dramatists who have not received the prize four, two realists, one satirist, and one poet, hold an undisputed international preeminence—Galsworthy and Schnitzler, Shaw and Hofmannsthal. Happily there will be other years and other prizes.

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Immigration by Selection

AFTER slumbering for the last six years, the immigration question is again under discussion in this country and is before the present session of Congress for legislative action. The Johnson bill providing for a virtual prohibition of immigration for two years has passed the House, although with an amendment reducing the period of non-admittance to one year. Historically, America has been free to all comers, and we have prided ourselves that it was a refuge for the politically oppressed of other lands. As a political asylum its light is much dimmed, but as an economic asylum it is perhaps more precious than ever in this day when thousands find themselves the victims of a broken industrialism elsewhere. We must not forget, either, that the land and opportunities of this world are for those who need and are ready to use them, and are not to be held as closed preserves against the wants of humanity. This doctrine is not only good ethics but it is also the inexorable law of world evolution. A most potent cause of war has been the demand of populations, large or small, civilized or savage, for new fields of livelihood, and no region can be monopolized indefinitely by the few in the face of a demand for access by the many. Moreover, the American experiment, if it means anything, means the immigrant. It is thus that we have obtained our population and our material wealth. We have undertaken an amalgamation of the races. In so far as we have any significance in the world, that is what we stand for; success or failure, it is too late to alter our policy or seek another destiny.

The Nation believes in our historic policy and favors the open door to America. At the same time we are not unresponsive to considerations that may call for a brief limitation of immigration, or a selective qualification of our welcome. If it is true that an unprecedented flood of immigration is about to set in at a moment when we are perhaps destined to experience unemployment and business stagnation, then it is to the interest of the alien as well as of the citizen to limit immigration; but experience has shown the immigrant flood very sensitive to our industrial barometer. If it is true that the personnel and equipment at the Ellis Island receiving station have so deteriorated during the period of inactivity that the present arrivals can no longer be properly handled, then it may be best to check immigration sharply for a few months in order to make new arrangements.

For some time after the armistice the number of aliens coming to America was exceeded by those leaving it. It was not until last spring that the tide turned definitively, and not until the new fiscal year beginning with July that the number of arrivals assumed numerical importance. Commissioner Wallis of Ellis Island was recently quoted as saying that after January 1 all previous immigration records would be broken. This may prove true, but it cannot be asserted on the basis of the record to date. The total number of aliens, immigrant and non-immigrant, admitted to the United States in the five months from July to December of this year, was 368,859, according to a recent newspaper dispatch from Washington. This is an average of about 75,000 a month, or 900,000 a year. This figure tallies fairly well with the records of Ellis Island—which receives about nine-tenths of the total immigration. Approximate figures of arrivals there for the last five months are as follows: July, 56,000; August, 57,000; September, 85,000; October, 74,000; November, 61,000; total, 333,000. This indicates an actual recession since September, the current slowing in response to slack economic conditions here just as it has in the past. The year 1907, when we received 1,285,349 aliens, is commonly taken as the flood tide of immigration to America, but this is inexact. That figure includes both immigrant and non-immigrant aliens, while the official totals since then comprise only immigrant aliens. If, for purposes of comparison, we include both classes in subsequent years, we find that the 1907 total was exceeded in 1913 and 1914, with arrivals, respectively, of 1,427,227 and 1,403,081. The average annual rate of arrival during the past five months was less than two-thirds of either of those totals—not an appalling situation or an excuse for hysterical action.

It is doubtful if the facts warrant emergency measures. A policy giving us at any time only the best of those seeking a home here, is much to be desired, provided a satisfactory test can be found. Nowhere is the present-day ideal of applying scientific methods to fundamental problems more pertinent than in the matter of immigration. Prejudice and misinformation clamor both loudly and surreptitiously concerning the danger of inferior stock infusion. Coincidently the need of education is emphasized, ranging from the un-American and exploitative "Americanization" of the National Security League to the earnest and intelligent purpose of social service agencies. These two questions —that of keeping up the quality of the racial stock, and education—are involved in a fundamental error both of concept and method. Our theory of admissibility is mistaken. It should be based neither on the superficial test of literacy, an accidental and acquirable attainment, nor on the baseless and arbitrary comparison of ethnic values which Madison Grant and Lothrop Stoddard would impose. What is needed is a scientific application of intelligence tests of the improved Binet-Simon type, which determine not the educational opportunities, or lack of them, in the alien's past but his potentiality for development in his new environment. The task may seem formidable, and obviously the present immigration personnel is inadequate, both quantitatively and qualitatively, for so radical a departure. Yet we were able to do something of the sort in a cruder but none the less adequate way among the four million men called to military service within a period of eighteen months. Surely, if we were able to apply mental tests to classify men for killing and destruction, it is worth a similar effort where the future of our state is so deeply involved. Laboratory methods applied to the immigrant justifiably will exclude thousands, eligible in the past, who, well above the grade of idiots, able even to write moderately, are nevertheless adults with ten or twelve-year-old mentalities, definitely feeble-minded. They can swing a pick or perform mechanically routine tasks —and as such are ideal factory fodder for our industrial barons—but are unable to think for themselves, unfit to become citizens and to take part in the government of our common country. At the same time they generously propagate their feeble-minded offspring—future Americans. Physiological adequacy should be the basis of selection. The mentally and physically strong and untainted, the better product of their race, whatever this may be, should be deemed worthy of American citizenship.

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A Message Mr. Wilson Might Have Written

TO THE CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES:

As required by the Constitution and in accordance with precedent, I hereby submit to you my annual message as President. I conceive, however, in view of the shortness of the present session of Congress, and the emphatic declaration of the electorate at the solemn referendum held upon Election Day, that any recommendations of mine as to domestic issues will receive but scant attention. May I not, therefore, devote this communication solely to the consideration of a foreign subject of profound import to the state of the nation, leaving a consideration of the questions of taxation, of freedom for the Filipinos, of immigration, and other matters to my successor?

It is Ireland of which I would speak. America has a heart, and that heart throbs with all sorts of intense sympathies, and America has schooled its heart to love things that America believes in. Because she was born to show mankind the way to liberty and born to make this great gift a common gift and heritage to all the world, America cannot look idly and indifferently upon what is happening across the seas, any more than she could look unmoved in 1898 upon the sufferings of the Cubans at her very doors. Since then a bridge of American boats has spanned the Atlantic. Europe, which seemed so far away, lies but beyond our vision, but beyond the horizon. More than that, we are the keener to perceive what is going on within the British Isles, for the beauty of the war just ended is that it brought with it a new partnership of Anglo-Saxons, and a new comradeship and a new understanding. It is precisely for this reason that anything which affects the peace and happiness of our Motherland affects our own. Not a hundred years of peace have done more to knit these English-speaking nations together than a year and a half of war.

But what do we see? An island which has witnessed a great history and has floated on high the symbol of great events is today drenched with blood. From across the waters comes to us the appeal to the Irish and Scots-Irish blood which pulses in so many American veins. To millions of our American households the postman with mail from overseas brings not joy but fear lest the bulletins he carries tell of murder or reprisal, of prison, or of a new-made grave. To other homes comes once more the fear that men in the uniform which our enemies of yesterday could not defeat from Mons to the Second Marne shall once more have begun to fall for the King. These are days of very great perplexities, when a great cloud of trouble hangs and broods over the greater part of the world. To solve any one of them is to bring a great service to stricken humanity. I realize that the problem of Ireland is plainly one to be studied, studied carefully, and studied without bias, just as it must be plain that in the last analysis the solution can be worked out only by English and Irish together. But to be silent when a beautiful country is being reduced to wreck and ruin, when no man's life seems safe from sudden death, is to serve neither party to the strife. All the British blood within our veins forbids inaction if by any act of friendliness and goodwill, we of America may, greatly daring, hope to point the way to peace, to concord, to amity.

Not that we would prejudge, nor that we would award praise or blame. When men's passions have run so high, when the sword has been unsheathed, when reprisal follows upon reprisal, it is obvious that no one can be wholly in the right. To measure each deed or act is not of my purpose. It is of my thought, the vision that I see is of such promise, that I would in this open and unequivocal way offer the good offices of myself personally and of the United States to our kin of the United Kingdom, acting as mediator in any guise or capacity which may be of service in bringing together the contending factions, that at least the killings may cease, while men from both sides shall seek the basis of a new understanding and a new fellowship.

I am aware, of course, that there will be those to say that we should mind our own concerns. Ireland is our own concern. In election after election here in America it has come to figure in the result. There is a tide of feeling rising to meet the moon; there is no doubt that it will soon come to the flood. We feel the tide. We fear the strength of it. We fear that it will swell and whirl into the maelstrom of politics; that demagogues will ride its surges and seek to harness its mighty power to their own ends to the destruction of that state of peace and amity between England and America which is the chief hope, and, today, the great salvation of humanity. We fear that men's minds may turn to the violent methods of which so much of the world is today so great a victim, so powerless a fief. To this shall it never come. But at this hour men's hearts wait upon us; men's lives hang in the balance; men's hopes call upon us; a race despairing turns as to its own for aid. Hence, I would end in this way a message of genuine comradeship, of genuine sympathy, and I have no doubt that our British comrades will speak in the same sense and the same language if they but understand the spirit of the peacemaker in which this offer is made. If it takes an unusual course, it is because there is a new spirit in the world, the spirit of those who would excel in service to others.

WOODROW WILSON

Rediscovering the South Seas

PAUL GAUGUIN for the French, Somerset Maugham for the British, Frederick O'Brien for the Americans—these are but the most outstanding of those who have lately learned and praised the incomparable charm of the South Seas. Thousands of readers are traveling to Polynesia as if it were a new region for the imagination to visit. America and Europe and Asia have grown hateful to such of their sons as like the taste of dreams which are not wholly dreams, such as want to escape from the tumult of civilization by some avenue less brief than sleep. Once there were the Hyperboreans to hear about, and Atlantis; Marco Polo and Sir John Mandeville subsequently yarned of mysterious deeps and marvelous distances; two centuries ago Robinson Crusoe and Lemuel Gulliver had almost a world of empty places to go to for their adventures; Fenimore Cooper could tell great tales of deeds done in the American forest; and it is but a few years since Samuel Butler found Erewhon in deepest New Zealand. But who now cares for the Hyperboreans or Atlantis? Mandeville has turned out to be but the myth of a man, and motors bearing the name of Henry Ford have gone wherever Marco Polo went. Lilliput and Brobdingnag and Laputa have, it seems, no latitude and longi-

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tude; Robinson Crusoe's island may have cheap excursions run to it any day; the American forest has been cut down to make Sunday supplements; New Zealand is a sociological example. There is no safe nook for peaceful dreamers to turn to if not to the soft archipelagoes of the South Seas.

Each generation has its Eldorado. Let no one forget, however, that the South Seas can already number many lovers. Since the days when Captain Cook cruised among the Society and the Marquesan and the Friendly groups there has grown up a substantial library of travel regarding these enchanting islands. And not only mere travelers, but writers as well who more lawfully have brought the imagination into play in their records. The first to set foot there in the name of the empire of fiction was Herman Melville, partisan of cannibal paradises, who after four months among the gentle anthropophagi of Typee found the half-civilized communities of Tahiti vexatious and ludicrous, and who later invented the mighty epic of Moby Dick. "There are but two writers who have touched the South Seas with any genius, both Americans," said Robert Louis Stevenson in 1891: "Melville and Charles Warren Stoddard." Stoddard's "South Sea Idyls" is what Stevenson had in mind, not praising the book too highly. But now his own name must be added to that pair of geniuses, for the sake of "In the South Seas," "Island Nights' Entertainment," and "The Ebb-Tide," for the sake of scores of fascinating letters home from Samoa, and for the sake of the grave on the high summit of Vaea overlooking the Pacific. There is a fourth name fit for this company—that of Pierre Loti, who visited Tahiti before he wrote "Le Mariage de Loti"; and perhaps still a fifth, if Jack London did not write too hastily to hold on to fame.

Of all these books the best is, everything considered, "Moby Dick." According to John Masefield it speaks the whole secret of the sea. And yet it lies a little outside the pattern of the literature of the South Seas. It is too stern, too wild, too lonely, too severely masculine. What poetical adventurers have sought the lower Pacific for has been peace not battle. They have lain down in warm valleys under palm trees; they have bathed in the tender waters of sapphire bays; they have tasted the exquisite delights of nights spangled with tropic stars and heavy with tropic odors; they have known the naive, affectionate, friendship of Kanaka men and the lavish, unexigent passion of the brown girls of the islands. They have escaped from inhumanity to humanity, from violent civilization to indolent but still kindly and tolerant barbarism. Much of the mood which has sent them there has as a matter of fact been mere sentimentalism, mere hankering for joys that rarely exist and never last; but a part of it has been real. Melville was the shrewdest of Yankees; Stevenson was more than a mere romancer; Gauguin under his languors was ruthless enough as a critic. When all reservations have been made, the fact remains that the South Seas are the loveliest part of the uncrowded world. They are the natural corner of escape now, as they have been since they were first discovered, and they must long continue to be visited, in the flesh or in the vision, when the rest of the world grows too vociferous. More pity then that their native populations are dying out. The missionaries made them put on civilized clothing; the traders taught them civilized industry; then came the gunboats and taught them civilized war and civilized diseases. Now they are dying of civilization.

Women and Children First

IF the wholehearted support of the women of the country can accomplish anything, there will be no doubt about the passage during the present brief session of Congress of the Sheppard-Towner bill for maternity and child hygiene centers. The Children's Bureau of the Department of Labor has, as the result of patient investigations, declared that 25,000 American women die every year from diseases and infections connected with pregnancy and childbirth, while 250,000 babies die from diseases that also could be prevented. These facts, carefully ascertained and widely published, have aroused women in all parts of the country, and thirteen of their national bodies such as the Consumer's League and the League of Women Voters have thrown all the force of their organized power behind the bill which was drafted to meet this obvious need.

The bill is almost without opposition, but like many such measures it may die for lack of the interest and influence needed to secure its adoption by a Congress which is more intent upon taxes than upon babies. But the bill should be passed immediately, taxes notwithstanding. It provides for an appropriation by Congress to be matched dollar for dollar by the States. Forty State legislatures meet next January and if Congress passes the bill they can adopt the legislation necessary to carry its provisions into immediate effect. Most of these legislatures adjourn in February or March not to meet again for two years. Thus the alternative to the adoption of the bill by this session of Congress is another long delay, and it cannot be tolerated when it involves, through mere sluggishness and indifference, the death of some half million infants.

This job of saving babies is not an expensive one. The Sheppard-Towner bill provides for an appropriation in 1921 of two and a half million dollars, to be increased in 1923 to four million. For two years Congress has failed to sanction this moderate expense, while with an offhand, casual air it has set aside 92 per cent of the nation's revenue for military purposes. Recently, for instance, Congress unhesitatingly appropriated $1,180,000,000 to be spent in one year for disabled soldiers, approximately 300 times as much as the amount asked for by the Sheppard-Towner bill. Nor is speed impossible when Congress is made to feel the need of speed. On June 2 of this year a bill was introduced in the House appropriating $36,000,000 (to be raised to $42,000,000 in 1922) for the salaries of postal employees; on June 3 it was introduced in the Senate; by June 5 it had been passed by both houses and signed by the President, the whole process occupying just three days. It is not to be taken as a criticism of either of these worthy measures if we point out that soldiers and postal employees are voters and that both groups are backed by powerful organizations able to finance publicity campaigns and to support lobbies. Babies, needless to say, have little direct influence in politics, and until recently even that subtle indirect influence—so highly spoken of in pre-suffrage days—seemed to produce small effect. Since women have had the vote, however, the indirect influence of the babies is beginning to make itself felt. The fight for the bill is really the first test of the political strength of women because this particular measure, through the indifference of men and the persistent interest of women, has become peculiarly a women's bill. No matter whom it especially concerns, it should pass at once.

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Closed Factories and Open Shop

By W. HARRIS CROOK

THE tide of the open-shop movement has flooded the men's clothing industry, swept over Boston, and has now reached New York. The laboriously constructed machinery for government in industry has been ruthlessly set aside and a return to chaos is imminent. The Boston Clothing Manufacturers' Association threw down the gauntlet on December 6 in a letter to the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America abrogating their agreement with that union. And now, with a simultaneity that would be remarkable if spontaneous the New York Clothing Manufacturers' Association has issued its ultimatum to the Amalgamated with the same 6th of December as the last day of grace. Their demands, embodied in the now famous seven points,* required that "all workers shall individually be responsible for a daily standard of production to be agreed on and calculated upon base rates prevailing in other competitive markets; and that in the event of the failure of any worker to produce such standard of production, the employer shall have the right to reduce wages pro rata or discharge the worker substantially under-producing."

These demands were originally made public by the market committee of the Manufacturers' Association on September 25, and negotiations with the union were placed in the hands of the employers' labor managers—Major Byres Gitchell, Mr. Willets, and their staffs. In October Major Gitchell presented certain figures to back up the manufacturers' case before the impartial chairman of the local clothing board (Dr. Leiserson), but the figures were disputed by Sidney Hillman, president of the Amalgamated. Dr. Leiserson suggested a joint investigation of conditions in the New York market, a proposal accepted by the union but rejected by the manufacturers. Finally the employers asked for a definite answer to their seven demands, and upon the union giving a negative reply the employers asked Dr. Leiserson to arbitrate the demands. Dr. Leiserson refused, for reasons that are stated later. On November 18 the manufacturers "accepted" the resignations of Major Gitchell, Mr. Willets, and their staffs, and proceeded to appoint Mr. Harry A. Gordon as their legal adviser, a process characterized by Mr. Sidney Hillman as dismissing the Secretary of State and calling in the Secretary of War.

Upon receipt of the employers' ultimatum of December 2, the Amalgamated placed the whole situation before both the shop chairmen and, one day later, the ranks of the union, at several large meetings. In both cases the members of the union by unanimous vote approved a resolution declaring their readiness to continue friendly relations with all employers desiring peace in the industry, but their determination to use all their organized power in resisting any attempt to lower their economic conditions or to destroy any of the rights they had won by years of struggle.

Immediately previous to these mass meetings President Hillman made a preliminary reply to the employers, in which he declared that their ultimatum was "violative of the practice and principle of collective bargaining" under which the union had been operating, and in a brief letter to the manufacturers, apprising them of the mass meetings and the vote of the members, he sums up the union's position:

> We believe that this is no time to scrap all of the machinery of government for the industry which has worked so successfully for ten years in other markets, and, until now, in Greater New York.
>
> We believe that to accede to your ultimatum means not only a return to the old status of helplessness of the workers, but also a confession that government in industry is impossible. We do not believe that a resort to chaos is the only way out.
>
> We still stand, as set forth in our letter, on the impartial chairman's suggestion of "a joint committee to be appointed and charged with the duty of ascertaining existing conditions, determining the extent to which production can be increased, and the means by which these ends can be secured."

The manufacturers met this reply by definite action against the union in a resolution, and against its members in locking out some 16,000 workers, employed by six large city firms, on the morning of December 8. The union "recognized that war had been declared" and placed pickets at these factories and all others that took the same line of action. The employers' final word of dismissal allows of no doubt that they seek to break the hold of the Amalgamated upon the clothing industry; their resolution declares in part

> That the Amalgamated Clothing Workers' Union can no longer be recognized as representing the workers in the New York clothing market; that all intercourse between the association and the union be severed; that it be officially declared that the impartial chairman has ceased to function in the local market, and is without authority to act for or speak on behalf of the market; that all fraternizing between any member of the association and any of the union officials or representatives be declared to be contrary to the best interests of the association and its membership.
>
> That a committee be immediately appointed with authority to formulate a plan of work, whereby each worker will be held responsible for a daily standard of production and paid upon a basis permitting competition with other markets.

What *is* this Amalgamated with which the employers of Boston and New York will no longer deign to hold intercourse? The history of this six-year-old union is the history of the conversion of a sweated industry into a carefully governed and comparatively orderly trade, wherein negotiation proceeds by the methods of collective bargaining and the arbitrament of an impartial chairman, rather than by a constant succession of petty strikes and lock-outs. In origin the Amalgamated is a protest of the ranks against unendurable working conditions and incompetent and undemocratic unions. In 1914, when the present union was formed, the hours of workers in men's clothing were sixty or more per week. Piecework was the rule, and the task system forced the individual worker to become his own tyrannical boss and speed up beyond the limits of health. A clever "speeder" would make good wages for a short time, till his employer, taking his excessive output as a standard, cut all the workers' wages by lowering the piece-rate. According to the United States Bureau of Labor Statistics the average

*1. The right of the manufacturer to instal piecework.
2. Scales prevailing in other clothing markets to be the base rates for New York workers.
3. The cooperation of workers in maintaining individual records of production for week workers in shops and cutting rooms.
5. The right of the manufacturer to change contractors.
6. "Adequate" freedom to discipline and hire workers and to introduce improved machinery.
7. The agreements maintained by the union in other markets in which adjustment machinery is functioning successfully to be made the basis of relationship between the association and the union.

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annual earnings of a worker in this industry in New York City amounted in 1914 to $639 for a 48-week year, a lower figure than that of any other organized occupation save the building laborer. In that same year the State Factory Commission estimated that the cost of living for a family of five would require a *minimum* income of $876. When it is understood that hardly ever in the industry in prewar years was there such a 48-week year for any clothing worker, it will be seen how seriously sweated a trade it was. The usual year's work for the clothing worker would approximate twenty weeks of full time and a further ten of part-time work, with long spells of complete unemployment.

The old United Garment Workers' Union, affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, did not meet the needs of the keen young immigrant clothing workers. With the break from the old union in 1914, and the formation of the Amalgamated under the leadership of Sidney Hillman and Joseph Schlossberg, a militant policy in the clothing industry was at once apparent. By constant struggle and by yet more persistent organization the industry was finally almost completely unionized, the present membership approaching 200,000. Wages increased from 70 to 100 per cent, hours were reduced to forty-eight, and after the armistice to forty-four—the present standard week in the industry. Above all the social and public benefit of the union's work was seen in the series of agreements, beginning with the firm of Hart, Schaffner & Marx in Chicago, between the union and the manufacturers in the many clothing centers throughout the States. Under these agreements there is a joint control of labor by the union and the employers. Workers are safeguarded from unjust discharge by their right of appeal to the impartial chairman and the trade board, while the employer is insured of a period of production without the constant irruption of strikes. The piece-rate evil and the peril of sweat-shop conditions are banished under this industrial government. At the same time an organization with such power in industry either becomes a peril or else grows more and more cognizant of its responsibility for order and production in that industry. One hopeful peculiarity of the Amalgamated is the steady pressure of its officials to have its members in the various clothing centers adopt production standards along with the week-work basis of pay. At the last convention of the Amalgamated Joseph Schlossberg, its secretary, declared:

> The industry is ours. It yields us our livelihood. We can have no chaos in it save to our own injury. We, the organized workers, within the past few years have brought into the industry a degree of order that was amazing for so short a time. Whatever constructive work is still to be done must be done by our organization. The problem of standards is ours. We cannot evade it.

By a vote of 178 to 88 the convention passed the resolution approving of production standards and empowering the executive to work out methods for their adoption.

No group of men would, one imagines, rashly and without plausible case throw down gage of battle to a union of this type. The manufacturers, in the person of their legal adviser, Mr. Harry Gordon; their president, Mr. William Bandler, and their secretary, Mr. Irving Crane, voiced their dissatisfaction with labor conditions to the writer thus:

> 1. Collective bargaining as applied to present arrangements was a misnomer. Collective bargaining as originated by Justice Brandeis (the Protocol) presupposed an agreement between all employers through their association and the workers through their union, with an impartial chairman to act purely as judge in administrative capacity. Under the rule of the Amalgamated the whole force of the union was pitted against each individual employer, inasmuch as the agreements were made with each employer and not with the association. The so-called impartial chairman today was a lawmaker rather than a judge, and in any case did not dare offend the union lest he lose his position.
>
> 2. With the policy of payment by time work (*week work*) rather than by output (*piece work*), and the inability of the employer freely to discharge incompetent or lazy workers, labor in each shop had practically attained to a position of *life tenure*.
>
> 3. When a manufacturer was completing an order the union workers refused to "finish out" that order until a renewed spell of work under similar agreement was guaranteed. The Amalgamated aided and abetted such action.
>
> 4. The cost of production must be reduced to meet the competition of the other markets, either by cutting wages or by increased production on the part of the workers. There would be no fear of "profiteering" under present conditions, inasmuch as demand is so much less than supply.

The last point unconsciously answers itself. If demand is so obviously behind supply, why emphasize the need for *increased production?* Under the third head the employers have a legitimate cause of complaint. That process of refusal to "finish out" *has* existed in the New York market. At first the union opposed such practices, until more than one firm which had promised to renew an agreement if its goods were "finished out" played the union false and went back on the promise.

The second complaint is not fully in accord with the facts. Men have been discharged for incompetence, and the discharge upheld by the impartial chairman against the protest of the union, as cases upon the books of the board prove.

Finally, collective bargaining in the form of the protocol never existed in the *men's* clothing trade, in which alone the Amalgamated is interested. The argument of Mr. Gordon that the powerful union is pitted against the individual employer is precisely that of the union against the open shop, where the powerful manufacturer is pitted against the individual worker. As a matter of fact, in the manufacturers' case, both types of agreement are now in force; that with employers' associations and that with the individual employer, with the association as guarantor.

Under the Amalgamated's agreements the impartial chairman is most definitely only an administrator, and is not, as the employers state, a lawmaker. An ironical proof of this can be found in the refusal of Dr. Leiserson to arbitrate the manufacturers' seven demands, inasmuch as he says:

> The function of impartial machinery is *to administer the agreement that is made, not to make new ones.* If I should arbitrate I would be determining what the rights and privileges of the management and the labor in the industry should be. That cannot be settled by an outsider. It must be settled by the people in the industry themselves, by negotiation and bargaining. . . .

These complaints, in short, do not provide adequate reason for summary abolition of the whole system of collective agreement. The fact of the matter seems to be that while labor was inefficiently organized the manufacturers did not hesitate to make ends meet by sweating labor. When labor awoke to organized power and the public demand for clothes in war time increased, then the manufacturers found it easier to treat labor well and sweat the public. Now the public itself is on strike against years of outrageous price-boosting, and labor, organized at last, is unwilling to recede to a position of un-American living conditions.

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The Limitation of Armaments*

By TASKER H. BLISS

THE Peace Conference did not attempt to solve it [the problem of general disarmament], but in its final work there are one or two references to it couched in phrases which, to me at least, glow with the rays of a radium light, illuminating the document from within through the densest covers with which you may bind it. Simple as they are I shall dwell for a moment on the essential military peace terms with Germany, inasmuch as I find the subject of my thesis in the preamble to those terms, which reads as follows:

"In order to render possible the initiation of a general limitation of the armaments of all nations, Germany undertakes strictly to observe the military, naval, and air clauses which follow."

Is not that phrase pregnant with hope to every father and mother here tonight, whose son gave his life in order that that ideal might be realized? Now you will note that when Germany affixed her signature to one side of the last page of that document twenty-seven other nations of the earth, including all the great Powers, signed it on the other side. Therefore, in all good faith and honor these nations have pledged themselves to initiate, as soon as practicable, a general limitation of armaments after Germany shall have complied with her first obligation. Germany is compelled to limit her armament in order that the other nations may be able to do likewise. It will be interesting to note what we compelled Germany to do, as throwing light on what it was intended that all the rest of the world should do as rapidly as is practicable. . . .

[After protracted discussion the Council of the Powers ruled in favor of allowing Germany an army of 100,000 men, of voluntary enlistment, and the abolition of conscription. In order to complete the destruction of the military system it was further provided that universal military service and training shall be abolished; also that] there should be only the amount of arms, ammunition, and equipment necessary for the small authorized army to perform its function of maintaining internal order. The accumulation of stocks of arms and munitions of any kind was prohibited. This provision, alone, makes impossible international war on a large scale on the part of Germany. The immense stocks of costly munitions and other apparatus formerly accumulated by that nation and which the other nations are still accumulating presuppose a war of the "nations in arms" in which it must be possible for every able-bodied man to receive his initial equipment, together with the enormous reserves of material the destruction of which will at once begin. The material permitted to be on hand, which is to be sufficient only to replace the annual waste, must be stored at points of which the allied and associated Powers approve. All other material must be delivered to commissions of those Powers for destruction. The manufacture of war material of any kind whatsoever, except of the kind and in the amounts permitted by the treaty, is absolutely prohibited. The permitted manufacture can be carried on only in establishments that are approved by the Powers. "All other establishments," says the treaty, "for the manufacture, preparation, storage, or design of arms, munitions, or any war material whatever, shall be closed down."

In subsequent clauses the German navy was reduced to a force sufficient only for a coast guard, and sufficient for that only in case other navies should be similarly reduced. No submarines are allowed. All war vessels not authorized must be delivered to the Powers or broken up. No new war vessels can be constructed or acquired except to replace those that are allowed. To further guard this restriction, no vessel can be replaced unless it has been totally lost in the hazards of the sea or otherwise, or unless, for one class of vessels, it has been in service for twenty years, and, for the other class, for fifteen years. All fortifications commanding the maritime routes between the North Sea and the Baltic shall be demolished nor shall any such be hereafter erected. . . . Finally, says the treaty, "the armed forces of Germany must not include any military or naval air forces."

What I have given comprises the essentials of the conditions imposed upon Germany by the unanimous judgment of the world. "In order"—to quote again those words of far-reaching meaning in the preamble which I have already read—"in order to render possible the initiation of a general limitation of the armaments of all nations."

And just here I wish you carefully to note that it was not the military men who wrote that preamble. They confined themselves to the cold-blooded statements of the military clauses. But more than once during the progress of the war I have heard one and another of them say with an implied feeling of dread "How long can civilization stand this thing?" and I think that they accept, as I do, the full import of that preamble. It was written by the Peace Conference. It was inserted after long deliberation. It represents the judgment, without dissent of any, of the representatives of twenty-seven nations, including the United States, and I, having part as one of the latter's commissioners in this expression of our judgment, feel that this one preamble counterbalances a good many of what you may think to be errors in the treaty. It is a very cup of salvation—and I say it with all reverence—offered to the lips of a longing, war-weary world. Whatever else we may reject, shall we reject this? Now, to analyze it, what was allowed and forbidden to Germany? We allowed her a military and naval establishment assumed to be sufficient, together with her numerous police and gendarmerie, to maintain internal order. We forbade a military system, and the existence beyond a limited amount or manufacture of arms and munitions, both of which are necessary solely for the purposes of international war. We said that we compelled them to do that in order that the rest of the world might promptly do likewise. In other words, the nations have bound themselves, at least so far as a solemn form of words can do, to begin at the earliest practicable moment a general limitation of their armaments, culminating in the abolition of military systems and all military material, the sole object of which is international war.

Why is it that this question is now, more than before, a problem of such grave moment? The only answer that I can give is that it is due to the radical change in the character of war, with its attendant results in cost, loss of life, and destruction of material wealth. This change has come to stay, and will be manifest, in an increasing intensity, in future wars so long as the present system of universal preparation for it throughout the world continues. If the present system continues, the next war of the nations in arms will be as much more horrible than the recent one as the devilish ingenuity of men can make it.

But, some will say, in future wars we will prohibit the things that made this one so horrible. How? By another Hague convention? We had prohibited the use of toxic gases, the ruthless use of the submarine, had restricted the use of aerial bombing, and put limitations on the ruthless blockade. All of these restrictions were violated by both sides during the war. It is safe to say that only a little while ago every person in this audience was crying out against the inherent wickedness in the use of

*This is a partial reprint of the address of Major General Tasker H. Bliss, U. S. A., before the *Public Ledger* Forum on the Peace Conference in Philadelphia, last Friday, December 10. General Bliss was Chief of Staff of the United States Army, military representative of the United States on the Supreme War Council, and commissioner plenipotentiary on the American Peace Commission. Lack of space prevents the republication of the address in full, the original address being about twice as long as the sections here printed. Grateful acknowledgment is hereby made to the *Public Ledger* for permission to reprint General Bliss's address.

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toxic gases, and saying that when we have won the war that, at least, is one of the things that we will put a stop to. And you would have represented the average sentiment of the United States. Well, a short time ago an act of Congress reorganized the military establishment of the United States in order to profit by the teachings of the war. One of the things that they did—so far as I know without a dissenting protest—was to create a chemical warfare bureau, the sole function of which is to employ the genius of our chemists in devising formulae for newer and more deadly toxic gases and more effective methods for their use. And that is true everywhere.

I have referred to a radical change in the character of war. This has been entirely due to the military doctrine of the "nation in arms," heretofore adopted by the great Powers of Europe and Asia and now, perforce, being gradually accepted by the United States. The application of this doctrine seems to have a tendency, it is true, to reduce the frequency of wars. But the ultimate result is inevitable. The pent-up dynamic forces of the nations reach a point of tension at which resistance ceases and then comes an explosion which rocks the world to its base. A little spark, a slight shock is all that is required. The killing of a man and woman in a mountain town of Bosnia brought on the World War, but it was the pretext for it, not the cause of it. . . .

If nations are armed to the limit against each other and each knows that the armament of the other has no use against any other than himself, can we not all see that when one approaches its limit and believes the other to be capable of further expansion, war, without warning, is almost inevitable? It is this alone which enabled many military men to predict the war of 1914 and forecast the approximate time when it came. Experience shows that we cannot depend upon honor to prevent the outbreak; nor do universal armaments presuppose a strong sense of honor. . . .

You will now see why it is that in a war of "nations in arms" it becomes increasingly difficult for any nation, with however little original interest in the matter, to maintain its neutrality, until the war finally becomes one of the "world in arms." Modern agencies of warfare have already made it impossible to blockade directly and close at hand, with any certainty, enemy ports and coasts. Therefore, when it has become necessary, in order to effect our purpose, to blockade whole seas and oceans; when, to stop all trade of every kind whatsoever with an enemy country, to prevent every possible pound of food or supplies of any kind from leaking through a neutral country to an enemy country, whether their borders are contiguous or not, it has become necessary to put those neutrals on short rations of food, of clothing, of fuel, of everything—then those neutrals can escape many of the hardships of war only by joining in it on one side or the other. And it may be that some will join a side because they think it will win, rather than because they think it is right. In such a case the horribleness of future war will be equaled only by the horribleness of the injustice that will result from it.

The basic reason for the ruthless blockade is not far to seek. With the modern nation in arms every woman, old and young, who can knit a woolen sock for the soldier at the front; every child able to knit a mitten; every old man who can cultivate a bushel of potatoes or wheat beyond his own needs—each of them is a soldier; their work is commandeered and directed by the government for the purposes of the war. The merchant deals in the goods that the government permits him; the farmer sows the crops that the government orders him. Every one is drafted for the war—the labor of some at the front, the labor of others at the rear in order to enable the former to stay at the front. The tendency has been to abolish the distinction between combatants and noncombatants, to treat all as soldiers, the mother rocking the cradle at home, as the husband or son in the trenches. Until recently nations at war settled their differences by a sort of prize fight. They raised limited armies which marched and countermarched and fought battles until one side won and the other side lost the purse. The vast mass of the populations had so little to do with the war that they were really noncombatants. Yet each of these populations was, in a sense, part of the body of one or the other of the contestants and the laws of war, like the "gentleman's rules" of the prize ring, were made to protect him against unfair blows. The prize fighter must not hit below the belt, the soldier must not use toxic or asphyxiating gas; the civilian must be protected as far as possible from the hardships of the war. But suppose that the prize fighter, after he has come to blows with his adversary, discovers that it is no longer a fight for a purse and half the gate money, but is a fight for his life. From that moment neither contestant will regard the rules, but will do what he thinks necessary to save his life and destroy his adversary.

It is the unhappy fact that the rules made to govern the parties in one war grow, in large part, out of the violations of the rules made for a previous one waged under different conditions. When the recent war began the use of noxious gas was contrary to the rules. One side violated the rule and began to use it; then the other side, perforce, used it, and now all the world contemplates its continual use. And so the modern blockade which grew out of a gradual violation of rules made for wars of a different character has doubtless come to stay in future wars, so far as the circumstance of the moment will permit it to be applied.

Note another thing: The antagonism growing out of opposing commercial interests or out of racial differences is no longer confined to any two nations. These interests bind them together in groups on each side. The result is great alliances bound to stand together until changed conditions result in new alliances, because the interest of one is the interest of all. By the very necessities of war one side or each of them begins to put restrictions on neutrals, with a tendency, sometimes with the object of forcing them into it. When the relations of all kinds between the nations, especially the great ones, were not so close as now, when war meant generally a relatively small indemnity, with or without a relatively small loss of territory for the defeated side, other nations found it not difficult to keep out of it. But now the war of two nations in arms is so serious that the victor feels he must leave his enemy powerless for generations to come. It becomes a war almost, if not literally, for life and death. Some nations may think they have an interest in bringing this about for one or the other of the contestants. But there are others who are vitally interested in preventing it. So there is a tendency to bring one after another into the maelstrom until, as I have said, the war of two nations in arms becomes one of the world in arms.

Now, I think that we have sufficient reason to apprehend that future wars, whether more infrequent or not, will come with increasing suddenness, will be of increasing magnitude and intensity, and will be an increasing menace to our civilization. The kind of wars which we have passed through, to be repeated if they are to continue, you know only two well. The repetition of some figures may be of interest in focusing your attention on this phase. I doubt if many of you know that, for this war, the allies of Europe and Japan, and excluding the United States and the Central Powers, mobilized 35,404,864 men. Not all of them, of course, served under arms, though many millions of them did. The Central Powers and the United States did, more or less, the same to the extent of many additional millions, probably doubling the above figure. And all of the labor thus conscripted was engaged in the production of material a large part of which was to be immediately destroyed after accomplishing its own sole purpose of destroying life and the slowly accumulated wealth of centuries, the rest of it lying idle and useless in time of peace. No business man here needs more than these figures to understand the world convulsions in industrial life due to the readjustment of this labor in normal productive channels. Of the total mobilized, 4,705,665 were killed outright in battle, 10,870,025 were wounded, and an unknown number of millions of these have had their lives shortened or will continue a burden upon others; while 4,941,870 were cap-

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tured or reported missing, a large part of whom were dead at the time of the armistice. And more than these are the millions, mostly women and children, who died as the direct result of the hardships of the war.

To kill and wound these men it cost in money actually raised by taxation and in debts yet to be paid something like $200,000,000,000, with an additional $50,000,000,000 of previously accumulated material wealth destroyed and to be replaced.

If all armaments could be abolished tomorrow there would still be an annual interest bill of at least $9,000,000,000 to be paid by the belligerent nations on the debts incurred in the last war alone. If these armaments are to be maintained, you must note that the military and naval expenditures of the great Powers for the year 1913 amounted in round numbers to $2,300,000,000. The economic loss due to withdrawal from productive industry could then have been assessed at $1,000,000,000. That meant a total annual loss due to the mere maintenance of military establishments of $3,300,000,000. To maintain these same establishments now will cost approximately double that sum, or near $7,000,000,000. Nor does this take into account the accumulation of military material of expensive types in far greater quantities than has been deemed necessary heretofore. So we have staring us in the face a total annual bill of about $16,000,000,000, and this only for a very small number of nations, for many others are staggering under lesser similar burdens which are all that they can bear.

If, in the future, nations are to rely for their security upon their individual preparedness for war, it will not suffice if the measures taken for this are confined, as heretofore, to the training and equipment of armed forces. Perhaps the most striking development of the recent war was that which imposed upon each belligerent the necessity of mobilizing all its civil activities for war purposes. In future no nation can rely upon its preparedness unless it conducts these activities in time of peace with a view to their best employment in war. Military utility will then be a large and frequently a controlling factor in determining the nature of its industries, the training of its workmen, and even the use of its land for agricultural purposes. The resulting conditions will be economically wasteful, and thus increase indirectly the cost of the maintenance of armaments. Moreover, they will keep the threat of war more constantly in the minds of the people than was the case even under pre-war conditions, the result of which will be to produce national and popular tensions which will be a material factor in bringing on war. The status of the civilized part of the world will be literally that of an armed truce, with its entire population ready for prompt mobilization, industrial as well as military. And that status will grow to be so intolerable that war itself may come to be regarded as a relief.

All admit the imperative necessity of finding a remedy, but it has not been found. National and international societies and conferences pass resolutions, expressing alarm at the overgrown militarism of the age. But every proposition made has been too vague to force the attention of practical statesmen, or so arbitrary and drastic, so far beyond the possibilities of the moment, that they have rejected it. During the war I happened to be in a company of gentlemen who were playing a great part in directing the energies of their countries in the prosecution of it. They began to discuss the after-the-war problem. They spoke of the appalling burdens their people would have to carry and the necessary readjustments of every phase of national life. They seemed to think that now, if ever, with all the nations brought to the verge of ruin under the existing system, now if ever, those nations would eagerly sink all differences and agree upon some other system. I said to them "Suppose the representatives of these nations, including our enemies, were seated about a table, and you were to ask them the question, 'Do you desire to put an end, as far as possible, to international war,' what do you think would be their answer? They said that, in their opinion, the answer would be "Yes." Then I said, "Ask them this other question: 'If you honestly mean what you say, are you ready to reduce your armaments to a limit beyond which they have no use except for international war?' What will be their answer to that? They still said they believed it would be "Yes." Then I asked: "Do you suppose that, when they say 'Yes,' they include in the word 'armament' vessels built and armed solely for international war?" "No," said one of them. "I am afraid my country could not accept that. We are dependent on the outside world for our food and raw material and we must protect our trade routes. It is true that with no vessel afloat on the seven seas more powerful than a coast guard or a revenue vessel, it is hard to see how these routes can be seriously endangered; but you cannot convince our people that there may not be some deception and then that they may be irretrievably ruined."

We are saying to the world, "We do not wish to join in any formal association with you because we fear it will not make for our peace, but war." They are saying to us, "We want you because without you there can be no continued peace." Why should not the United States say to the nations, "We will take you at your word and will test it to decide its worth. Will you, the nations that accepted the preamble to the military peace terms with Germany, sign this further document with us?

"We will agree with you that each nation that so desires shall keep and build whatever frontier and coast fortifications it wishes. Fortifications cannot stride across the earth devastating fields and destroying cities.

"We will agree with you that each nation may maintain its navy. No navy without an army can conquer and hold foreign territory.

"We will agree with you on a date when we shall simultaneously abolish any military system which is solely necessary for international war.

"We will agree with you on a date, as remote as the existing conditions make absolutely necessary, when we shall begin the gradual reduction of our armed forces until they are at the limit necessary for the maintenance of internal order. In coming to an agreement about this we will accept any reasonably just principle of proportion, provided it results in a reasonable and material reduction, but admitting in advance that reduced armaments can no more be equalized than excessive ones. We will trust to the ultimate good sense of the common peoples of the nations, who suffer most from excessive armaments, to see to it that when the movement has once begun it is pushed as rapidly as may be to its proper limit.

"We will agree with you on the proper amounts of material to be kept on hand for the reduced forces. And we will further agree with you to cease the manufacture of material until the amounts now on hand are reduced to what we agree upon as necessary for the reduced force."

Are these propositions reasonable? And if agreed upon will they accomplish anything in the maintenance of international peace? Manifestly, they do not guarantee against war, and I know of nothing that now will. But they will undoubtedly have a tendency to deter any nation from undertaking international war. They will ultimately minimize the chances of the occurrence of another war, such as the last one, and they will tide over the long period of mutual fear that will exist before the nations understand that they can be menaced by no sudden war in which defeat means death. They will retain as long as they choose their material defenses on land and sea. They will be left with gradually reducing military forces. And this reduction being made at simultaneous periods, they may gain a gradually increasing confidence in each others' good faith. They will not be required to destroy their present stocks of material, but will agree to stop the manufacture of any new material. France and England and Italy during this period of reduction and for long thereafter need have no military fear of Germany, due to a reduction in their forces and stoppage of manufacture of material. Because, while there are now millions of young men in civil life on both sides trained in the recent war, on the one side there will be ample reserves of the present material for these millions

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if called to arms, while on the other side there will be none at all. But, above all, we will have gradually accomplished a radical change in a system which alone is a standing threat to international peace.

I agree that perhaps the greatest difficulty will be in coming to an agreement with the European Powers as to the reasonable force that each nation requires to maintain internal order. But I do not believe that this difficulty is insurmountable. Underlying this question is the latent fear of Germany. Under present conditions we can hardly understand this. Nevertheless, I I see no reason why an agreement cannot be reached. They all admit that a large part of their forces have been maintained solely because of the menace of the German system. With that menace removed—removed not only as coming from Germany but from anywhere else—the peoples themselves are not likely to allow any excessive number under the guise of preserving order. And whatever that number is for each Power, let it retain it plus enough to give a reasonable excess over the small army they have allowed to Germany and which cannot be increased without the consent of these Powers.

Those of you are mistaken who may think that there can be an enduring and effective association of the nations for the maintenance of peace so long as those nations are armed to the teeth solely against each other. And those are mistaken who think that, so long as the military system exists, there can be any successful international court of arbitration. Had Germany and her allies belonged to such a league with such a court in 1914 they could have said "With our preparedness we can defy the league and the decisions of the court," as they did say then, "We can defy the world."

Why should not the Uuited States take the lead in a definite proposal and demand for a reasonable limitation of armaments? Who can do it better than we?

Moving Toward Nationalization

By FELIX MORLEY

London, November 20

THE strike of the Miners' Federation of Great Britain began October 16 and was called off November 4, although the dislocation has been such that the industry is only now getting into its stride again. In *The Nation* of October 13 I pointed out some of the more salient issues behind the dispute, concluding with the observation that the immediate cause of the crisis was "the issue of whether or not the [British] coal industry shall be treated as a unit." At the outset it should be noted that this major point has now been conceded by the Government.

On the whole the conflict has proved a decisive victory for British labor, and it is equally evident that without the strike the gains which have been recorded would not have been allowed by either Government or mine owners. The wage increases demanded by the miners on July 14 have been granted outright until January 3, 1921, with qualifications depending on output after that date. Second, the funds necessary to meet these wage increases are not to be provided by raising the price of household and industrial coal, but are being taken out of the profits on export coal, with the provision that if necessary the profit pool already existing in the industry will be drawn upon to meet the wage advances. This is a most important concession, for by checking the accumulation of surplus profits it indefinitely postpones the anticipated decontrol of the coal mines by the Government. Third, the settlement provides for the creation of a permanent, joint, national wages board, which will be accompanied by the establishment of district and pit committees concerned with output, on which the miners will have equal representation with the owners. The date set for reporting the scheme of the National Wages Board to the Government is "not later than March 31, 1921."

Those who are following the development of industrial democracy in Great Britain lay great importance on the alterations now taking place in the coal industry. Capitalism opposes the fight for nationalization of this industry as doggedly as Socialism supports it, and even the "man in the street" has come to realize that the future internal economy of this country hinges upon the outcome of the enduring coal disputes. Now that the strike is two weeks over it is possible to estimate the results of this last conflict in the basic industry of Great Britain, together with its general influence on the campaign which is being waged to bring about the establishment of a British Socialist Commonwealth.

Examination of the settlement shows that all along the line capitalism has been forced back by the strike, even though in some sectors the objectives aimed at by the miners were not obtained. The wage increases are not retroactive to July 14, as originally demanded, and after January 3 they are made dependent on increased output, to which the miners object on the ground that they are still deprived of control in many factors of management on which output necessarily depends. Again, abandonment of the claim for a reduction in the retail price of household coal, which the miners originally asserted to be "indivisible" from their wages claim, was forced by the Government even before the strike began.

These losses are, however, the full measure of unattained aims, and they count for little compared with the general advance which has been made toward socializing the coal industry. One of the causes of the strike was the avowed intention of the Government to accede to the owners' demand for state decontrol, and this eventuality is now very remote because of the concession that profits must bear the burden of the wage increases. For without a large pool of profits the poorer coal fields will not be in a position to allow decontrol. Furthermore, the establishment of the wages board means unit control in this matter for all the coal fields of the country, and national control of this character while not implying national ownership is certainly a step in that direction.* Again, the setting-up of local and district joint councils on output, which is correlative with the establishment of the joint National Wages Board, will provide a measure of self-government in the industry which does not fall far short of the principles for nationalization laid down by the miners themselves at the time of the Sankey Commission.

The gains which have been achieved are the more noteworthy because in influential places it was held and hoped that a great national strike, if fought by the Government with determination, would result after a bitter struggle in bankrupting the Miners' Federation, and thereby breaking the backbone of the industrial labor movement in Great Britain. The reason that idea failed is made plain by a remark of a waitress I overheard in a London restaurant. "We can't afford to have the miners smashed," she said.

* This question of unit control was regarded by Robert Smillie as the biggest issue behind the strike, and its achievement is in large measure due to his untiring patience, far-sightedness, and diplomatic skill.

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Indeed, the solidarity manifested by every section of the labor army during the strike was as impressive as it was successful. Before the strike had been on a week the National Union of Railwaymen gave unmistakable evidence of its intention to come out if the struggle was prolonged, and the attitude of the Transport Workers informed the Government that if the Railwaymen struck it would have to rely on the military and a few unorganized, unskilled, middle-class volunteers to keep communications open.

Besides the solidarity of British labor the coal strike brought reactions from the Continent which deserve far more attention than can be given here. The miners of France, Germany, and Belgium not only pledged their support to the Miners' Federation of Great Britain at the outbreak of the strike, but by mass meetings and demonstrations gave signs that future industrial upheavals in this war-stricken Continent may not be purely national in scope. The British coal strike was of too brief duration, and British labor was not sufficiently threatened, to see this new development carried far, but there is reason to suppose that if the strike had dragged on for six weeks, instead of being settled in less than three, there would have been startling repercussions in other countries. In this connection words spoken the other day by M. Bartuel, secretary of the Federation of Underground Workers of France, are of significance. He said:

> We have long wanted an international miners' strike for nationalization and the establishment of an international coal commission, which alone can deal with the world-wide famine in coal. If such a strike were agreed upon the miners of France would leave the pits as one man. But the miners of one nation cannot act alone in these matters. It is to be regretted that the British and Belgian miners did not advise us of their intention to begin a campaign for higher wages—if they had done so we could have acted together. . . . Personally I am convinced of the futility of a wages strike. The root question for the mining industries particularly is nationalization, and short of that we are moving round in a vicious circle.

Another interesting sidelight on the British coal strike is found in the ballot vote which ended it. Although acceptance of the Government's offer was advised by the miners' executive, and strongly recommended by Smillie, the offer was actually *rejected* by the rank and file by a vote of 346,504 to 338,045. The strike was therefore ended only because of the rule that "if a ballot vote be taken during the time a strike is in progress, a vote of two-thirds of those taking part in the ballot shall be necessary to continue the strike." And in South Wales, where communism is increasing, there is a strong movement to have this provision altered so as to have the majority henceforth decide.

Under industrial pressure the Lloyd George Government has admitted two entering wedges of nationalization—partial control by the workers and wages regulation on a national basis. Whether the present adjustment will endure beyond the spring of next year depends partly on the good faith shown by the owners in working out the details on permanent lines; partly on whether or not the Government will be so blind as to attempt a repetition of the tactics practiced on the Sankey Commission, and partly on the progress of the extremist sentiment already very strong in South Wales, Lancashire, and Cheshire. The drastic Emergency Powers Bill (for industrial conflicts), which was rushed into Parliament during the recent crisis, indicates the feeling in Government circles that some bitter and dangenerous rounds remain to be fought through.

To Mrs. Terence MacSwiney

By RENE FIALLO

The lagging days, the somber prison wall,
The strangled love, the silent, soft despair;
The sweet nun's whisper, the unrelenting care
For flesh stubborn to the spirit's call;
The slow decay, the ever-present gall
Of foemen's footsteps and a doctor's stare—
Are fled at last, and the wan features bear
Once more God's peace beneath their sickly pall.
Rejoice, grim martyr! With thy dying breath,
Behold the fierce red embers on the hearth
Of Erin, fly over a world inflamed;
While breaking in God's thunder out of death,
Thy name now smites the foreheads unashamed
Of those who slay His liberty on earth!

In the Driftway

LENIN was the name which a pair of good Socialist parents in Zurich chose for their new-born red-faced son. And Lenin he would have stayed had he been born in this land where nomenclature at least is free, and had the brat grown up to be a banker he would doubtless have suppressed his first initial just as Woodrow Wilson abolished the preliminary and too ordinary Thomas which his parents gave him. In Europe they order things differently. The Municipal Council of Zurich, Socialist though it was, refused to permit the name Lenin. It was out of accord with the usage of the country, the city fathers declared; and it might evoke quarrels hurtful to the child. In France, too, the state watches over the cognominal interests of the child. There is a law dating from the eleventh day of the month of Germinal in the Year Eleven of the republic, which forbids public officials to allow names other than those in the various calendars and those of historic personages. Apparently the higher criticism was already sapping men's minds even in Napoleonic days, for another law, of September 28, 1813, stipulated that Bible names should count among the "names of historic personages." After all, this does not too much limit the novelty-seeking parent, for history and the Bible offer a strange and varied choice, and if Père Jean be not satisfied with Demosthenes or Genghis Khan as a name for his son, he may turn to the calendar of the saints and christen the child Mogoldobonorco, after the pious bishop of Kildare, or name him Mirlourirain, after the saint cherished in the diocese of Rheims, or Chersoneses, after the martyred eunuch saint of Persia. But if the Drifter were hunting a name to confound the future of a blue-eyed baby, he would seek it in the List of Personal Names from the Temple School of Nippur, issued among the publications of the Babylonian Section of the Museum of the University of Pennsylvania. He would dub a boy-child Ur-dur-dingir-an-na, meaning the servant of the dwelling of the god of heaven, or more simply Lu-gis-an, man of the orchard, or Ur-kur, servant of the mountain; and a girl-child he would name Nin-ge-du-an-na, the lady is the magnificence of heaven, or Ama-hal-nu, the mother is my honey.

THE DRIFTER

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Correspondence

The Outlawry of War

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: Like other anxious students of the international situation I have found myself not a little puzzled by the Constructive World League Program put forth by *The Nation* on November 17. The apparent inconsistency of the demand for "the nationalization in each country of every munition and weapon-making industry" in a world that has completely disarmed and outlawed all war has not bothered me as much as it has some of your readers. I seem to see in it nothing worse than a somewhat disconcerting survival of *realpolitik* in a mind that has otherwise made a clean sweep of the war system. One is tempted to ask, "Why not outlaw the munitions industry along with war and so get rid of it altogether?" But the answer would be only too obvious. Suppose war should refuse to be outlawed. In that case there must, of course, be munitions to carry it on, and there you are.

But this weak concession brings me to my real difficulty. What is this outlawing of war which is to be the first and most important act of the revived Hague Conference and how is the outlawry to be made good? It must be assumed that *The Nation* has something more in mind than a mere statutory prohibition of war, an official declaration that war is "an international crime" (Senator Knox's phrase, adopted by *The Nation*), for it is written that the outlawry is to be effected through "*the abolition of war* as a means of settling international disputes."

Now it is obvious that this is just what the arch-idealist of the White House aimed in large part to accomplish through certain provisions of the Covenant of the League of Nations which have not found favor with *The Nation*. Article XI, which provides that "Any war or threat of war, whether immediately affecting any of the members of the League or not, is hereby declared a matter of concern to the whole League, and the League shall take any action that may be deemed wise and effectual to safeguard the peace of nations," seems to me to come mighty near to a declaration of outlawry against all war. The famous and now discredited Article X of the Covenant sets up a concert of the Powers to abolish wars of aggression. The fault and the only fault which the *New Republic* and many other liberal journals and individuals have found in this article, that it sanctifies the iniquities of the peace treaty, is only an incidental effect of a provision whose ultimate aim is to outlaw all predatory, imperialistic wars. The Covenant, not venturing to go so far as to pledge the League to prevent all other wars, such, for example, as arise from grievances that may come to a head between nations, does the next best thing of providing for conciliation, arbitration, and delay in order that passion may die down and the public opinion of the civilized world be brought to bear on the contending parties.

As far as I can discover men have thus far hit on only two ways of abolishing war which seemed to them to hold out much promise of success. The one is that of the Prophet Isaiah which we may interpret as the slow growth of the peoples of the earth in good-will and cooperation. This is obviously destined to be a long process, not to be achieved in a hurry, but a process that may be accelerated by those very methods of conciliation, arbitration, and judicial settlement for which Mr. Wilson's Covenant provides, as well as by many other cooperative arrangements for which the Covenant makes no provision. The other method is that of a league of the nations to enforce peace, through an agreement to bring the economic and military powers of the league to bear against any nation or any people within a nation that resorts to arms for any purpose whatsoever.

The ardent spirit of *The Nation* will not permit it to await the long result of time when the national lion and lamb will lie down together. Is it the other way, the way of "force, force without stint," that it would recommend? Or is there still another way, one that we have hitherto missed, in which the desired consummation of the abolition of war can be achieved?

In seeking an answer to this question I have not missed your proposal of the creation of "a genuine world court to pass on all disputes" of an international character, whether of the kind usually known as justiciable or not. But this proposal has no other novelty than that of telescoping into a single tribunal the world court, the Council of the League, the arbitration tribunals, etc., for which the Covenant makes provision. Whether the several functions assigned to these agencies can be performed better by one or by several differentiated tribunals is certainly a debatable question. It can hardly be contended that it is vital to the issue of the outlawry of war.

I trust that I am not too exigent in asking again what *The Nation* would add to this scheme in order to secure "the abolition of war." Is it war to end war?

New York, November 20 GEORGE W. KIRCHWEY

[*The Nation's* fundamental objections to the League are, as was set forth in the preceding issue, that it is an exclusive concert of selected nations, dominated, by the terms of its constitution, by certain of them; and that it is inextricably bound to the Treaty of Versailles. *The Nation* also believes that the League takes no considerable forward step toward the prevention of war, and that the method it seems to intend, the use of economic *and* military force, more "war to end war," has sufficiently demonstrated its disastrous incompetency. *The Nation* believes that the world is ready to condemn war as a method of settling international disputes, and that, although war may sporadically persist after its outlawry, just as dueling still lingers on, the declaration of outlawry is a forward step and worth making.—EDITOR THE NATION.]

The K. of C. Offer to the Legion

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: An editorial item in your issue of December 8, concerning the Knights of Columbus offer to the American Legion of $5,000,000 for a memorial, has the stamp of sincerity upon it; but it was written by one unfamiliar with the rules for strictly limited application of the funds raised for welfare work among American ex-service men by the Knights of Columbus. You do not know, for instance, that the Knights of Columbus have not been permitted to work, in the way you evidently think they could, for disabled soldiers. The Government and the Red Cross have had that field of endeavor exclusively. The Knights, it is true, have been permitted to do certain hospital work, and in St. Elizabeth's Hospital, Washington, they were able to solve the vexed problem of mental distraction and occupation for shell-shocked men by instituting and maintaining a toy-manufactory that has been of inestimable value to the patients there.

Had the Knights of Columbus the resources and the entree, it is probable that they might have initiated and maintained a large and effective work for disabled soldiers. Through their employment bureaus and their nation-wide chain of free night schools, as well as through their hundreds of free college scholarships for veterans, they have carried on a valuable reconstruction work. They placed in employment, without any charge whatever, 500,000 men—probably more than all similar organizations combined.

The Knights have always taken the public into their confidence regarding their war fund. They have been scrupulously solicitous in the expenditure of that fund only directly for the ex-service men for whose benefit it was intrusted to them. Their policy of "everything free" and "everybody welcome" summarizes the spirit of their trusteeship, and their desire to devote the balance of their fund as quickly as possible to the service men, took the laudable form of offering to all service men through the American Legion—the veterans' organization of largest membership and broadest constituency—a memorial that would fill the national need for a large auditorium, prac-

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tically free to the public, in the national capital. There is a movement on foot to "drive" for funds for such a memorial. The Knights of Columbus have steadfastly declined to capitalize their war popularity by "driving" for funds, and in making their offer they have obviated the need of another "drive" on the public, or of taxation for a national memorial. And at the same time they have declared their eagerness finally to dispose of their fund according to the strictest interpretation of the simple terms of the trust.

Your reference to a "worth-while monument to the American Catholic soldiers who fell in the war" implies a misconception. The Knights of Columbus seek to memorialize the men of all creeds who fell in the war, just as they rendered unlimited service to men of all creeds during the war, and are rendering that service now.

It seems superfluous to point out to *The Nation's* intelligent clientele that a breach of the Knights of Columbus trust in the interest of other forms of relief and welfare work, however praiseworthy, would set a precedent at variance with the letter and spirit of the laws of trusteeship. The Knights have privately subscribed generously to all genuine relief works, notably to Cardinal Mercier's fund; but theirs is not the elastic interpretation of stewardship that permits funds subscribed and accepted for a definite purpose to be deflected to other causes. As individuals, organized, the Knights respond readily and generously to all calls from distressed humanity, as their history proves. There is not a local or national disaster in which they have not given aid. But as trustees they realize that reason must govern emotion, even in Samaria.

New York, December 3 JOHN B. KENNEDY

The Nonpartisan League

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: The comments of C. R. Johnson in your December issue regarding the Nonpartisan League and the recent election are misleading. Mr. Johnson says the League was "defeated" and he discusses the possibility of this "defeat" being the end of the farmers' organized political movement. He seems to doubt if the League can "come back." The facts are that the recent election demonstrated beyond a doubt that the Nonpartisan League is increasing its strength; that it is making great gains in a dozen States, while holding its own in North Dakota; that it is the most virile force in American politics today outside the two old parties; that in several states it has supplanted the Democratic Party as the chief contender against the Republican Party. All these things are perfectly apparent on even a superficial examination of the election results. The League was the only force that anywhere mitigated to any appreciable extent the Republican landslide.

Remember that one issue in the election overshadowed all others—the desire of the people to rebuke the Democratic Party. To hundreds of thousands of voters this was the only consideration. They forgot everything else and voted the Republican ticket, State, national, and local, straight. We find these facts:

Every League candidate on the Republican ticket in the two States where the League used that party—North Dakota and Wisconsin—was elected. This includes candidates for governor in both these States, six important State officers in North Dakota, and two in Wisconsin outside of the governor, one congressman, and one United States senator in North Dakota; five congressmen in Wisconsin, all with the League indorsement, three of whom were indorsed and brought out by the League before the primary, and the other two indorsed after the primary in place of League candidates who lost the nomination.

Republican candidates in all States opposed by the Nonpartisan League got substantially smaller majorities and pluralities than the rest of the Republican ticket. Harding got 519,421 votes in Minnesota, for instance, while Preus, Republican candidate for governor, opposed by the League, got only 415,805.

In Wisconsin the Republican State committee refused to support Blaine, indorsed by the Nonpartisan League, who had won the Republican nomination for governor. The Republican State committee *did* support Senator Lenroot and the Republican national headquarters made generous additions to Senator Lenroot's already large campaign fund. Yet, Mr. Blaine received 366,274 votes to 281,576 for Mr. Lenroot.

In North Dakota Dr. E. F. Ladd, with League indorsement, received nearly 40,000 more votes for United States senator than the highest anti-League candidate on the Republican ticket.

League candidates hopelessly snowed under the Democratic candidates in at least two States—Washington and Minnesota—and probably also in South Dakota. It would be more reasonable for Mr. Johnson to discuss the demise of the Democratic Party.

The League total vote in all States exceeds 1,200,000, taking the vote for governor in each State. The candidates of the organization polled only 230,000 votes in all States two years ago on the same basis.

Everywhere the League vote was increased, even if you eliminate the women's vote. In Minnesota, for instance, the League in the 1918 election polled only 29 per cent of the total vote cast. In the recent election it polled 35 per cent of the total vote cast. The total vote in Minnesota increased only 109 per cent in two years, but the League vote increased 151 per cent in two years.

In Minnesota the League, in spite of the Republican landslide, increased its membership in the legislature by a few votes.

In Montana and Colorado, where the League captured the Democratic Party nominations in the primaries and where it was, of course, doomed to defeat on account of the Republican landslide, League candidates for governor in each State ran 10,000 ahead of Cox.

In Montana and Nebraska Republican legislatures passed laws emasculating the direct primary system and attempting to substitute either the old convention system or a modified form of the old system. In both States the League got out and circulated petitions to prevent the enforcement of the legislative act and precipitate a referendum vote of the people on the matter. In both States the League won an overwhelming victory for liberalism and democratic election laws by defeating the League opposition plan to abolish the direct primaries. This in itself is a substantial indication of life and vigor in the League.

The League cast votes totaling nearly four times its membership in Nebraska and has gained a foothold there second only to its grip in Minnesota and Wisconsin.

Furthermore, Mr. Johnson tries to belittle the League victory in Wisconsin by attributing it to the La Follette forces rather than the League. The fact is that Mr. Blaine, the governor-elect, was brought out and indorsed by the Nonpartisan League convention before he received the indorsement of La Follette, and at a time when two or three candidates were seeking the La Follette O. K. During the campaign the chief attack was on the League rather than on La Follette, and in the height of this attack Mr. Blaine stated: "I stand on the program of the Nonpartisan League with both feet." The League does not try to belittle the part the La Follette forces took in the campaign. They did nobly. There was complete cooperation between the La Follette liberals and the organized farmers. But the League has a powerful and growing organization in Wisconsin, and to attribute the victory to La Follette to the exclusion of the League is unfair on Mr. Johnson's part.

Mr. Johnson wrote an article for the *New Republic* after the primaries last summer in which he also tried to prove that the League was dying. His conclusions then and now are erroneous. He has adopted the theory of the anti-League propaganda press, while at the same time appearing to be generous to the League in his conclusions and sorry for its being wiped out. I would pay no attention to such misleading comment in anything but a liberal publication, but when *The Nation* publishes it I am moved to reply with the really significant facts of the election.

I may add in conclusion that the Nonpartisan League was never more firmly intrenched. Its organization work is going forward with renewed activity and enthusiasm.

Minneapolis, December 1 OLIVER S. MORRIS,
Editor the *Nonpartisan Leader*.

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Books

A Folk-Hero's Father

The Paternity of Abraham Lincoln. By William E. Barton. George H. Doran Company.

THE story that Abraham Lincoln was an illegitimate son became a matter of gossip about the time of his first nomination for the presidency and was given a wide if stealthy circulation by the malice of the Copperheads. He himself always spoke with reticence of his ancestry, for the reasons that he believed his mother to have been born out of wedlock and that, supposing his parents to have been married in Hardin County, Kentucky, he had looked in vain for the record of their marriage which was all the time lying in the court house of Washington County, where Thomas Lincoln and Nancy Hanks had been married September 22, 1806. Lamon's biography in 1872 first put the scandal into print, though in veiled language. Since then it has been repeated in varying forms, for the most part obscurely and always uncritically. While there has never been any good excuse for crediting it, there has come to be a better and better excuse for undertaking to refute it. That has now been done by the Rev. William E. Barton in a convincing study which leaves not a square inch of ground for the scandal to stand on. Mr. Barton's researches have been exhaustive and—barring a few minor slips—accurate; he follows the rules of evidence in a way to put to shame those many lawyers who on such trivial testimony have believed the story; at the risk of making his book too bulky he has included practically all the documents in the case; he writes everywhere with good temper, although he might well have been forgiven for being vexed at the inanity or insolence of most of those who have argued that Lincoln was the son of this or that Tom, Dick, or Harry.

Mr. Barton's arguments remove most of the charges into the territory of the ridiculous. Abraham Enlow of Hardin County, Kentucky, for instance, turns out to have been no more than fifteen—perhaps fourteen—years old when Abraham Lincoln was conceived. As to Abraham Enlow of Elizabethtown, Kentucky, there was no such man. George Brownfield, of what is now La Rue County, was real, and may have known Lincoln's father and mother as early as eight or nine months before the child was born, but no scandal ever touched Brownfield's name in this connection for fifty years after 1809, and then the yarn was apparently invented because the story of Abraham Enlow of Hardin County to the older citizens in the locality seemed untenable. The "Abraham" Lincoln of Ohio who was formerly identified with the President, and about whose birth there was a scandal, turns out to have been named John. Abraham Inlow of Bourbon County is said to have paid Thomas Lincoln five hundred dollars to marry Nancy Hanks, who already had a child named Abraham; as a matter of fact, the pair had been married nearly three years when their son was born, and there is nothing in the Abraham Inlow story that even hints at an adulterous connection. If such an affair ever took place it concerned a certain Nancy Hornback. The rumor that Martin D. Hardin was the father of Lincoln has died of its own impossibility since the discovery that Lincoln was neither born nor conceived in Washington County, where Hardin lived. Patrick Henry, occasionally asserted to have been Lincoln's father, died ten years before Lincoln was born. The foolish affidavits which attempt to establish the paternity of Abraham Enloe of North Carolina are too ignorant and contradictory to be noticed. That a foster son of John Marshall was Lincoln's father seems unlikely in view of the fact that Marshall never had a foster son; this report is about of a piece with another which says that one of Marshall's own sons was the father of Nancy Hanks, when as a matter of fact she was a year older than the eldest of them and might have been the mother of the youngest. John C. Calhoun may possibly have indulged in a flirtation with a young woman at a tavern at Craytonville, North Carolina, in 1808-9, and she may just possibly have been a Nancy Hanks, but she cannot have been Nancy Hanks Lincoln, who had already been married for two years and had been living in Kentucky, it seems on good evidence, since early childhood.

All this is sheer gossip, motivated partly by an ugly desire to hurt Lincoln's fame and partly by a vulgar attempt to account for his genius by giving him a father more promising than Thomas Lincoln. At the worst it is dastardly; at the best it is stupidly unimaginative, for the Hardin, Henry, Calhoun stories are singularly frail, and the Enlows and Inlows and Enloes of the legend were certainly no more likely to beget a genius than the actual father. Even the Baconians have chosen a great man to explain Shakespeare with. The only use of the whole miserable matter is to throw some light upon the way in which in unenlightened ages, when there was no Mr. Barton to investigate the facts and lay the ghosts, various nations of mankind have sought to explain their heroes and leaders of humble birth by finding for them, among gods or demigods, fathers more suitable than the plain men who, such is the mystery of genius, are all that need be taken into account.

C. V. D.

The Enterprise of Learning

The Liberal College. By Alexander Meiklejohn. Marshall Jones Company.

IN one of those illuminating flashes characteristic of his mind, Mr. H. G. Wells somewhere points out the extraordinary difference between the scientific achievement of our generation and its thinking in all other departments of life: in science alone has truth been sought with ardor, disinterestedness, and success; in all else we muddle through in the most hopeless and slovenly manner. Now, the glory of our colleges and universities is that they follow and cultivate learning for her own sake and in her own spirit; for, notwithstanding the sarcasms justly leveled against those institutions which, forgetful of their high calling, pursue the "hire learning" with a faculty composed of "seven hundred professors and not a single man," it is probably true that as a whole our colleges represent the loftiest ideals and best thought of the nation. Each university true to her professions stands like an acropolis in the republic of letters, at once a temple and a fortress for those who love truth and pursue it.

Mr. Meiklejohn's singular fitness for the position of college president is proved by his conviction of the central fact that a college is above all things a place dedicated to the enterprise of learning. It is half-comic, half-tragic that this simple truism needs so much defense. The mingled dread and derision of ideas as such characterizes the truly plebeian spirit at its worst; it is the seamy side of the otherwise fair pattern of democratic equality. "Academic," "doctrinaire," "high-brow"—what a list of words lacking the slightest flavor of eulogy express the contempt of unlearned for the expert! Naturally, the Southern colonel who felt unable to call a negro genius "*Mr.* Washington," and yet shrank from the intimacy implied in calling him "Booker," compromised by addressing him as "Professor Washington." What needless pains some of our young people take to conceal their own brains, vaguely felt as an embarrassment in the presence of good society! What admiration is felt for the man who builds libraries, and what contempt for the man who quietly reads books in them!

The apologetic tone adopted by the author of "The Liberal College" is therefore not due entirely to his rare modesty and diffidence, but to the exigencies of a cruel situation. A college may be unsurpassed as an athletic training-school, as a social club, as a religious and moral influence, but if it has forgotten the one thing needful it has lost its own soul. The reviewer

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once heard a trustee of Mr. Meiklejohn's Amherst preach a sermon at the college—and particularly at the professors—to the effect that an academy that did not teach Christ and the gospel of service might better teach nothing. Against this view our author protests so effectively that one almost fears for his future. An institution of learning, he avows, must be of no party, creed, or sect, must consider no question outside possibility of discussion, must not make it any part of its aim to leave or to keep the boy's mind at rest and content with the religious and economic ideas of his father. The college must have fear of no opinions, but must seek truth in the scientific spirit, reckless of consequences, for it is now as it ever was that if we know the truth the truth shall make us free.

Only less admirable than his assertion of academic freedom is the author's plea for a liberal as against a technical education. Men rarely do anything well that they are not taught; why should we assume that they can live well if they are not taught how? Is life an easier profession than divinity, or law, or engineering, or soap-manufacturing? Why should we prepare a youth for the smaller thing and neglect the larger? Technical education fits for one trade, but it all too often actually unfits for other equally important matters. "Think," exclaims President Meiklejohn, "of learning to drive a nail with a yellow hammer, and then realize your helplessness if, in time of need, you should borrow your neighbor's hammer and find it painted red!" Possibly the academic aviary is likely to impound more larks than yellowhammers—but the point is well taken, nevertheless.

It is more difficult to express a definite opinion about the author's concrete suggestions than it is to assent to his general attitude. Herewith he presents a new curriculum, emphasizing above all things the social sciences at the expense chiefly of the languages. The ancient writers, it seems, have descended to the realm of the shades, only to regain a little life when they drink blood—that of the youths and maidens sacrificed on their altars. Possibly the problem of the curriculum is insoluble, for one cannot, with the most powerful pump, compress more than a certain amount of matter into a given and limited space. But whether or not the suggestions here made are specific improvements or not, the present volume makes one deeply grateful that there is, in a position of authority, a man so fully convinced that learning is a noble thing, worthy of love and devotion for her own sake, and that, whatever else may appear to be strong in the world, "above all truth beareth away the victory."

PRESERVED SMITH

The Captives

The Captives. A Novel in Four Parts. By Hugh Walpole. George H. Doran Company.

THESE great, gray, massive narratives about homely and tormented people in ugly places have hidden within them a core of strange excitement. Now and then from these dull, cloudy masses the lightning leaps. Tell us a tale of gay and adventurous and brilliant folk and, after an hour, it has faded from the mind which is sad in the security of its knowledge that human life is very rarely gay or adventurous or brilliant, that pain and delusion are facts, and that only from a close contemplation of them may something be learned or some liberation won. To a man who has a toothache a dentist's laboratory is a more cheering sight than a park full of fireworks. There will always be people who go to see the fireworks and prefer a moment's oblivion to the beginning of a lasting cure. But they are like children or like thriftless savages, and their plea that the arts chirp and "carry on" deserves no answer. Reality cannot be put off to some sluggard's tomorrow. Pain and delusion knock at the gate this hour and the ground under our feet burns and quivers. What's Hecuba to us? The question is as old as Martial. "What will the stolen Hylas, what will Parthenopaeus and Attis and the sleeper Endymion signify to thee? My page reeks with life. But thou, friend, wouldst know neither thy ways nor thyself. Read, then, the trash of Callimachus."

Mr. Walpole's new novel is no Alexandrian trash; it reeks with life; it is appropriately dedicated to Arnold Bennett, whose "Clayhanger" and "Old Wives' Tale" and whose fulness and steadfastness in the study of life it recalls and rivals. It is a dreary enough world into which Mr. Walpole takes us—a world, in its outer aspect, of faded pink wall paper and stiff, impossible chairs and soggy potatoes and cold, dry mutton and hard pallid knobs of cheese and tepid, gritty coffee. No one in it has ever dreamed of art or of applying thought to life or of giving the senses even a gruding alms. Most of the people are old or middle-aged and have "passed the adventurous period of life and passed it without adventure." Small wonder that these mute and disappointed women and few broken men gather under the hissing gas jets of the chapel of the Kingscote Brethren and warm their withered bosoms at the glow of a faith in Christ's second coming. They are the waste and wreckage of life. But theirs is not the whole story. The prophets themselves do not speak out of mere barrenness and disappointment. John Warlock and old Crashaw, however absurd their definite forms and creeds, do bear witness—a point that Mr. Walpole has much at heart—to a creative spiritual power within the universe that, through their burning souls, admits the fellowship and cooperation of man. It may be so and Warlock has, in all his confusion and fragility, a touch of tragic greatness. But to many, a second strain in the story will be more persuasive, the strain concerning "the brotherhood of the dissatisfied and the uneasy and the anxious-hearted." These, as the poor, clear-eyed old hack Magnus explains, will see the Grail if it is to be seen at all. And to these belong Maggie Cardinal and Martin Warlock, for whose sake the story is really told. They alone achieve through each other and through error, defiance, and sin an ultimate and positive good.

To pick out and isolate these two speculative tendencies in "The Captives" is not at all to accuse Mr. Walpole of falling into the didactic. No one so saturated with his subject has need of that. To an American who, for some reason yet obscure, has to take notes and document himself in regard to his very home town, this saturation is not short of wonderful. In our most solid novels there is a conscious watchfulness, tensity, strain. Things and people seem more elusive under our bright and windy skies. Mr. Walpole is magnificently at ease. He knows. He does not have to glance at his localities nor attune himself to feel and convey his several atmospheres. It all seems in his very blood. He knows every fiber of Anne and Matthew Cardinal and the Reverend Charles, of old Mrs. Warlock and Amy and Thurston and Sister Avies and Paul and Grace Trenchard and Caroline Smith. What a gallery of full-length portraits! What ease and fulness of creative energy! Perhaps amid fogs and in more contracted spaces there is a higher degree of psychical friction out of which such knowledge spontaneously comes forth.

"The Captives" makes Mr. Walpole's previous books look like agreeable fragments. For the wealth of substance here is not more notable than the display of architectonic power. There is no arbitrary shaping toward an antecedent pattern. As the organism grew its bony structure grew with it. Hence, as in life, long level plains of circumstance draw slowly toward hills of crisis. Things become unendurable and the flame of suffering leaps up. At such moments the novel becomes akin to the drama which lives by the isolation of those moments. The quiet and bitter contest between Maggie and Grace Trenchard flares at last into drama; dramatic, too, in the highest sense, is the final breaking of Martin's stubborn resolve. One does not know what quality of first-rate eminence as a novelist to deny to Mr. Walpole unless it be a more sensuous glow or else an austerer concision of style. His medium is a little undistinguished and slack. Even so "The Captives" scarcely ranks below "Clayhanger" and not very greatly below "Of Human Bondage," and is, therefore, one of the foremost British novels of the period.

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Notes and News

THE literature of the American Negro increases steadily in bulk, importance, and ominousness. "Finding a Way Out" ((Doubleday, Page) is the autobiography of Robert Russa Moton, of Tuskegee, who has written a simple, manly, forbearing, enlightened record which takes its place naturally beside the lives of Frederick Douglass and Josiah Henson and Booker Washington. Black men may forbear to speak the bitter truth about their lot, but white men cannot do so in honor or decency. Stephen Graham recently set out, with Frederick Law Olmstead as his model, on an observant excursion through the American States which have the largest colored population. He saw nothing, of course, that informed Americans do not know already, but as an Englishman he saw from a new point of view, and "The Soul of John Brown" (Macmillan) has the interest of a genuine freshness which Mr. Graham's mystical habits of thought and expression do not obscure. What he seems to have felt most during his journey was a groundswell of discontent growing higher and higher. That groundswell may be studied to excellent advantage in "The Voice of the Negro" (Dutton), edited by Professor Robert T. Kerlin, of the Virginia Military Institute, from the Afro-American press during the four months following the Washington race riot of midsummer, 1919. Few white Americans but will be astonished, perhaps, at the volume and the eloquence of that voice as here reported with praiseworthy fairness; still fewer, doubtless, but will wonder at the shrewdness with which these Negro editors survey the problems of their race and the injustices through which they are oppressed. Not to take some account of the true state of Negro opinion is to live in a fool's paradise. "There are worse things," as the compiler says in his preface, "than disagreeable reading."

IT seems singular that Mr. Frank Shay, compiler of so attractive and desirable a book as "The Bibliography of Walt Whitman" (Friedmans'), should not once mention the Whitman bibliography published by Mr. Emory Holloway and Mr. Henry S. Saunders in the second volume of "The Cambridge History of American Literature"—although Mr. Shay acknowledges indebtedness to Mr. Saunders. The claims made for this new bibliography are excessive. It adds practically nothing to its predecessor besides its useful collations of the principal editions; it does not list "The Patriotic Poems of Walt Whitman" issued in 1918, nor even the best current edition of "Leaves of Grass"—that issued with three volumes in one in 1917; though apparently aiming to list all known editions of Whitman or separate selections from him, Mr. Shay will prove disappointing to the collector bound on making his Whitman library complete. There is still work to be done in the bibliography of Whitman, for the task is minute and difficult. All the more reason, then, why Mr. Shay should at least have availed himself of all the help at hand.

Drama

Fantasies

EDWARD GORDON CRAIG has advised the actors to imitate marionettes. In "The Young Visiters" (Thirty-Ninth Street Theater) they imitate dolls. It is the same thing, since the origin of the idol, the doll, and the marionette is one. But Mr. Craig had in mind something solemn and uplifted. He forgot that, after all, men shape idols and dolls and marionettes in their own image. Daisy Ashford saw her world as a world of animated dolls. But her fancy shaped these dolls after the images of people she had seen. All she did was to simplify them, to contract them to the nursery's angle of vision. That vision was narrow, but it was penetrating enough. Complications are stripped off and there is no room for subtleties. But

ALFRED · A · KNOPF BORZOI BOOKS 220 W. 42 Street, NEW YORK

THE FOUNDATIONS OF SOCIAL SCIENCE ***By James Mickel Williams,*** *Prof. at Hobart College*

CHARLES A. BEARD writes to the Publisher: "I am glad to hear that you are publishing Professor Williams' book, THE FOUNDATIONS OF SOCIAL SCIENCE. This is the first attempt, as far as I know, of an American sociologist to deal with the chief problems of political science. Hitherto they have been left to practical statesmen (with what success the present condition of the world bears eloquent witness) or to writers of a legalistic bent. Professor Williams attacks some of the fundamentals from the point of view of social psychology, but he does not use that term in the vague way that such writers usually do. He stays as near to the ground as James Madison does in the tenth number of *The Federalist*, and nobody can read his book without learning something important. Those who will disagree most violently can learn the most, if they will." ($6.00 net)

PREJUDICES: Second Series

By H. L. Mencken *Author of "A Book of Prefaces," etc.*

IN PREJUDICES: FIRST SERIES Mr. Mencken devoted himself chiefly to specific authors; in this volume he is more concerned with underlying ideas. The opening essay is a remarkable survey of American literature, ending with an extremely suggestive discussion of the reasons for its prevailing flabbiness. The other contents of the volume include discourses on the character of the late Col. Roosevelt, on the curious aesthetic moratorium prevailing in the South, on the fundamental psychology of Prohibition and on the mental processes of the American professor. At the end of the volume there is a short section on women—a sort of appendix to the author's "In Defense of Women." ($2.50 net)

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the "ruling passions" remain, and Daisy was able, like Dickens or the writers of the old comedies, to set the "humours" of men squarely into space. Thus the play made from her book is akin both to the comedy of "humours" and to the morality plays. Mr. Salteena is the Snob, Bernard Clark is the Young Lover, Ethel Montacue is the Languishing Lady.

The scenes have been built and painted in imitation of a doll house; the cab and the train are toys; the river is a toy river. The task of the actors was to move harmoniously in that toy world and yet to keep in contact with the realities that Daisy saw, to be like dolls and yet like people, absurd yet true, farcical yet significant. Their success in this matter is beyond one's utmost hopes. This amusing and apparently quite trivial production adds to the range of the art of the theater. Here is a method of interpreting life on the stage that allies itself, however unconsciously, with what has recently been called "expressionism" on the Continent. Every artist, to be sure, gives not reality but his vision of it. He strives, however, to correct that vision by a constant appeal to what is objectively given and to the impressions of his fellows. Daisy's vision of her world, on the contrary, is purely subjective and wholly uncritical. It is as uncensored as a dream. And it is this vision of hers that has, with the utmost skill and delicacy, been transferred to the stage. No rude hand has pulled her facts back to earth. Mr. Clark and Miss Montacue continue in complete innocence to inhabit adjoining rooms in the "Gaierty" hotel and Ethel announces seraphically that six weeks after their nuptials an heir will appear. Daisy's vision has been left intact. Expressionism can go no farther.

One would have laughed at and not with this vision had the acting not been quite perfect. Every gesture had the right touch of angularity, as of puppets' limbs creaking a little in their sockets; the dialogue was spoken with the bright, irresponsible gravity of the speech that children lend their dolls. The prince, laying aside his "small but costly crown" and licking at an ice; Miss Montacue fainting at the river's brink and surreptitiously watching her lover—these are great and hilarious moments. They are wildly absurd and delectably true, utterly fanciful and yet cruelly exact. Throughout, Mr. Salteena, played by Herbert Yost, reveals a bundle of human weaknesses almost too pitilessly. He, too, is only a doll, but a terribly sordid one. He even sneaks out of taking his proper bath. One laughs at the play. Afterward one is overtaken by an uneasiness before the quiet, cool eyes of children. They may see people as puppets. But these puppets have a trick, evidently, of being dangerously like those people with their fine airs and public pretenses calmly set at naught.

"The Whispering Well," the second production in the repertory season at the Neighborhood Playhouse, is also a fantasy, but a fantasy of an entirely different sort. It is a romantic dramatization of a Lancashire folk-legend and was first presented at Miss Horniman's Theater in Manchester. Its method is not less honorable for being old. The greatest dramas have been and are likely still to be based upon legendary material that is already alive in the consciousness of some portion of mankind. The Greeks and Shakespeare and Wagner all drew their fables from such common funds. But in order to re-create and reinterpret the legends of tribes and nations the dramatic artist must have a powerful intellect and a powerful poetical faculty. Mr. F. H. Rose has neither. He leaves a platitude as he found it; he uses or invents a "machinery" that is preposterous; his prose is stilted and his verse is wooden. He has robbed the legend of its native simplicity without giving it in exchange either subtlety or fire. That the weaver sells himself to the devil for gold is an acceptable circumstance. We now expected the dramatist to show us what this particular weaver made of his bargain. But the weaver disappears; the characterization snaps off; in his place appears a caricature or a goblin. The imagination refuses to accept legendary or mythical circumstances for the sake of their symbolical value unless the known facts of human nature—the continuity of human character, for instance—are respected. Where that fails belief is destroyed and a poetic vesture only adds the fantastic to the incredible.

Thus one cannot think the choice of this play a happy one. It is the more to be regretted in view of the new and fruitful policy of the directors of the Neighborhood Playhouse and the quality of the group of players they have gathered. Mr. Whitford Kane takes the part of the weaver and does all that the circumstances let him. He acts the three different characters into which the poor weaver is broken with the utmost expressiveness. In the first act he is all sunny frankness and honest grace; in the second he reaches a wild and desperate eloquence; in the third he lends a personal tang even to the wretched stage miser of a hundred melodramas. He could not give his impersonation a coherence violently at variance with his text. Miss Deidre Doyle is too statuesque for a weaver's wife. In the second act she has a bitter beauty of speech and gesture. When the icy crust about her soul melts in the third she has a moment of quiet eloquence. With these players and their associates the directors of the Playhouse need not fear to venture upon great and arduous things. That is what we shall now expect them to do.

LUDWIG LEWISOHN

The Nation's Poetry Prize

THE NATION offers a Poetry Prize of $100 for the best poem submitted by an American poet in a contest to be conducted by *The Nation* between Thanksgiving and New Year's Day. The rules for the contest are as follows:

1. Each manuscript submitted in the contest must reach the office of *The Nation*, 20 Vesey Street, New York City, not earlier than Friday, November 26, and not later than Saturday, January 1, plainly marked, on the outside of the envelope, "For *The Nation's* Poetry Prize."

2. Manuscripts must be typewritten and must have the name of the author in full on each page of the manuscript submitted.

3. As no manuscript submitted in this contest will under any circumstances be returned to the author, it is unnecessary to inclose return postage. An acknowledgment of the receipt of each manuscript, however, will be sent from this office.

4. No more than three poems from the same author will be admitted to the contest.

5. No restriction is placed upon the subject or form of poems submitted, which may be in any meter or in free verse. It will be impossible, however, to consider poems which are more than 200 lines in length, or which are translations, or which are in any language other than English. Poems arranged in a definite sequence may, if the author so desires, be counted as a single poem.

6. The winning poem will be published in the Midwinter Literary Supplement of *The Nation*, to appear February 9, 1921.

7. Besides the winning poem, *The Nation* reserves the right to purchase any other poem submitted in the contest at its usual rates.

The judges of the contest are William Rose Benét, Ludwig Lewisohn, and Carl Van Doren. Poems, however, should in no case be sent to them personally.

Contributors to This Issue

W. HARRIS CROOK is a New York journalist who is making a special study of industrial relations.

RENÉ FIALLO is the son of Fabio Fiallo, the Dominican poet and patriot who was imprisoned by the United States naval authorities for transgressing their censorship by writing in protest of the alien occupation of his country.

FELIX MORLEY, formerly a Philadelphia newspaper man, is studying at Oxford as the Rhodes scholar from Maryland.

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International Relations Section

The Revolution in Italy

THE documentary history of the industrial revolution in Italy during September must be prefaced by a brief summary of the events leading up to it. On June 13 the Italian Metal Workers' Federation, commonly known as the F. I. O. M., presented demands for a 20 per cent increase in wages. The National Federation of Employers in the Metal and Engineering Trades refused this demand on June 26. A conference held at Milan on August 10 between the metal workers and the employers resulted in a deadlock. The F. I. O. M. met the continued resistance of the employers by adopting the method of "obstructionism," or the deliberate lowering of production. On August 24 the Central Committee of the F. I. O. M. published an announcement of the results of this policy of peaceful sabotage. The text is taken from *Avanti* for August 25.

Obstructionism

To the Metal Workers of Italy:

From all parts of Italy we have received the first news of the application of sabotage. The struggle has begun everywhere in a most disciplined manner, carried out with intelligence and compactness. Everywhere production has diminished to a standard below normal. And in some localities and some plants production has diminished beyond all expectation. This is true particularly in the foundries, where production has already fallen below the necessary amount.

While we are glad of the way in which the struggle has begun, we most urgently ask all workers to carry on the sabotage within the limits outlined in the instructions that were given out. For no reason must anything be done to provoke the closing down of establishments or the cessation of distribution because of complete lack of materials.

In certain localities where the employers have been particularly hard pressed by the sabotage, they are attempting to cut off the struggle by threats and by the arbitrary application of rules and wage regulations. In such cases the workers must make use of all the means at their disposal in order to maintain the struggle on the level at which we are obliged to hold it.

The Sections must give information daily to the Central Committee and the executives of the separate organizations; they must keep in continual contact with the masses in order to give them their support, advise them, and instruct them in the method of carrying on the struggle. Within a few days, when they compare production with the loss they have sustained, they will change their attitude.

Sabotage is a difficult and ponderous weapon for the workers, but on the other hand it is formidable and effective against the employers. The workers undergo a very slight hardship in comparison with the hardships they inflict upon the capitalists. But since these hardships are sufficient to bring the employers to the point of adopting a meeker attitude, they will probably continue for many days.

"Produce less, use more, without provoking closing down, or lockouts, or suspension of work." This is the gist of the order.

The Beginning of the Occupation

The obstructionist policy was everywhere diligently carried out. On August 30 the Milan firm of Romeo and Company declared a lockout, and on the following day the Committee of Action of the F. I. O. M. issued a manifesto printed in *Avanti* for August 31.

To the Metal Workers:

In face of the tenacious resistance of the metal workers, the employers have not been able to extricate themselves from the close quarters in which they have been placed; and by distorting all the news of the struggle, and raging at the sabotage, they have succeeded in provoking an open conflict. Romeo and Company has declared a lockout, barricading the entrances, and fortifying the factory at every point. The Government, tenacious defender of the employers' interests, is actively defending the Romeo works. The other firms would follow this example if the proletariat did not put into practice the decisions which it has made.

Comrades! Yesterday we gave the order: "Produce less, use more, without provoking closing down, or lockouts, or suspension of work." The workers have proved their discipline. Today we say to you merely this: No one is to leave the works, but to remain there with the definite aim of working until all the firms have declared a lockout. The employers have recourse to force of arms. Let us show them that our force is superior—the force of work and faith in the cause. Remain at your posts, all of you; keep the machines intact, keep up your tenacious resistance and faith in the battle.

Keep working! We, too, shall remain at our posts.

This was followed on September 1 by another notice from the Committee of Action, dealing in more specific terms with the policy of the "occupation" of factories in the face of a lockout order.

On Monday the workers found the firm of Romeo defended by government troops. They then went to the F. I. O. M. Committee of Action for advice. The Committee issued a manifesto to the workers, telling them to remain at their posts. Immediately the order was carried out everywhere and without violence. Preparations were made for the night and food was brought by the families of the men and ordered from neighboring stores. The workers maintained careful watch all night under the guidance of the Interior Commissions, and on Tuesday morning the following communication was issued by the F. I. O. M.:

While we announce to you the fact that our demonstration has met with remarkable success, there are certain things we must communicate to you for today and tonight.

We have procured larger assignments of food rations at the Cooperatives near the factories.

To you workers in the shops who are fulfilling your duty in these difficult and anxious moments, we say that notwithstanding the promises of the political authorities, we have met the ambiguous and insincere conduct of the employers with the reply that we will accept no compromise until we are sure of our ground. Things are going well in all the shops, and it is very important to keep in good spirits.

If you have with you a director, keep him, if possible, so that he may be witness to the fact that the workers are not sabotaging, and so that the men can work in the usual way.

Order and resistance: if we must yield, let us yield only in the face of overwhelming force, and not before.

Do not use the telephone, as listeners are likely to take advantage of it.

Shop committees: See that all goes well, and help us in every way you can. We shall persist in our work for victory and we shall conquer. We are in touch with your families and will look out for them. Have faith in your friends who are working day and night. Greetings!

It is interesting in this connection to note the attitude of the engineers of Milan toward these revolutionary developments, as expressed in the following resolution taken from *Avanti* of September 1.

The Milan Engineers, assembled on the evening of August 31, to discuss the attitude they should maintain with regard to the occupation of the metal works of Milan by the workers in consequence of previous controversies and disagreements of an economic nature, which led to the application of sabotage, and with regard to the incidents which occurred inside the establish-

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ments, declare that, as a general rule, the first concern of the technicians as productive factors must be the question of production, taking every care to avoid any interruption, and without prejudice in favor of any particular property interests which might injure the general economic interests of the nation; consequently, in case of a future lockout of the metal factories, they must go into the plants occupied by the workers, in order to continue their duties, on the condition that the workers' organizations guarantee to the technicians the discipline and technical organization favorable to regular production, convinced that the workers, in the face of this demonstration of purpose on the part of the technicians, will abandon every attitude of distrust and hostility toward them, and will cooperate with them so that production, which is indispensable for the well-being of the nation, shall not be interrupted.

The Lockout Order and its Results

This course of action on the part of the workers was followed by the adoption by the employers of a general lockout order, dated September 2 and published in the *Corriere della Sera* of the same date.

The General Council of the National Federation of Employers in the Metal and Engineering Trades are of the opinion that the policy of obstruction has already resulted in a condition of absolute anarchy within the factories, that it has created an opportunity for a concealed white strike, has brought production almost to a standstill, entailing a useless consumption of coal and raw material, has provoked repeated outbreaks of personal violence and of sabotage against property, and has in fact already created in the engineering and metal industry so grave a situation that the owners have only abstained from closing down the works because they have desired to prove themselves animated throughout by a conciliatory spirit.

They are unable to continue this attitude in view of the recent acts of violence committed by the workers, who have not only occupied the factories of Milan, but have even proceeded to interfere with the liberty of the person, including that of the president of the committee charged with the conduct of negotiations.

They appeal to public opinion in denunciation of the attitude of the workers' organizations, who, having entirely failed to return any serious answer to the contentions advanced by the owners, have taken upon themselves the responsibility of breaking off negotiations and have urged and authorized violent acts.

The Council therefore resolves that firms which are members of the Federation shall proceed to close down their works according to the instructions issued by the various associations, and states that only upon the termination of the existing abnormal and illegal state of affairs will the owners, on the basis of the considerations advanced during the first part of the negotiations, agree to examine the demands of the workers' organizations.

The vigorous reply of the Committee of Action, urging the continued occupation of the factories, was published in *Avanti* for September 3.

The Turin owners having already attempted a lockout in their factories, the owners' federation announced its resolution not so much to proceed to a general lockout as to authorize owners to close down.

The Committee of Action, therefore, had foreseen the action of the owners at its meeting of the day before yesterday and had already instructed its delegates to return to their constituencies and urge the workers to seize all factories at the first sign of a lockout. The prompt decision of the F. I. O. M. has thus nullified the decision of the owners. The workers have everywhere prevented an interruption of work in spite of the fact that the owners have everywhere tried to remove the technical staff by threatening them with dismissal.

However, the resolution adopted by the owners stands as proof that the whole responsibility for the damage to production and for the disturbance occasioned falls to their account. It is true that while adopting their resolution—a resolution which, claiming to be only a simple lockout, really means war to the knife—they at the same time pretend, as soon as the abnormal situation has ceased to exist, to be willing to discuss the workers' demands. But in order to force the owners to a concession such as this, it has been necessary to use obstruction and the workers have been obliged to occupy the factories. Let us hope that the workers' firmness in continuing their policy of struggle and self-sacrifice will in the end induce the owners to take further steps along the path toward a solution.

Meanwhile the struggle has caused some bloodshed. At Genoa some of our comrades became the victims of government rifle fire during the attack on the factories. And because the press, which is indignant at the alleged outrages on the personal freedom of owners and managers, is entirely unmoved at the fate of the victims of the rights of property—rights more sacred than human life—we salute these victims in the name of the whole proletariat of the metal industries, and determine to continue the struggle with the earnest intention of winning it.

The occupation of the factories in no way alters the orders issued before the period of obstruction. We therefore urge upon all workers the desirability of avoiding any useless waste of time in the factories. All should direct their efforts toward preventing the disorganization of the works and toward making good the absence of the technical staff.

All meetings and reunions should be held outside work-hours—during meal hours and at change of shifts.

The Control of Raw Materials

The orders of the Committee of Action were obeyed with extraordinary unanimity and discipline, and on September 3 some 500 plants throughout Italy were in the workers' hands. On September 7 the railway employees decided to support the metal workers, and on the same date the technicians published an important announcement regarding the control of raw materials and equipment.

The Central Technical Committee invites all sections of the F. I. O M. to cooperate with the local sections of technical and administrative employees or with single groups where these sections are not organized, in forming a technical and administrative commission to proceed with the coordination of the producing elements, and to settle future differences arising between the managers and the workers employed in the shops.

They are asked to proceed immediately with a general inventory of all raw materials, machinery, equipment, tools, etc., in every establishment. For machinery, equipment, tools, etc., one single copy must be made, which is to be kept for the shop committees. But for the raw materials, four copies of the inventory must be made. One copy shall be turned over to the shop committee; another must be placed with the local technical committee; a third, with the regional or provincial committee in charge of the metal workers' section; and the fourth must be sent to the Central Technical Committee, which has headquarters near the General Federation of Labor in Milan, via Manfredo Fanti, 2.

The shop committees shall be intrusted with giving out the information necessary for the above-mentioned operations, which must be carried out carefully and exactly so that the Central Technical Committee can know what raw materials are available throughout Italy.

It is particularly recommended that the inventory work be carried on after the close of the normal working day.

To the inventory lists should be added the exact amount of the production of all the factories in each locality.

The regional and provincial committees, and the sections are asked to consider the requested information as confidential.

The Employers' Ultimatum

On September 8 the conference of delegates of the General Federation of Employers adopted a resolution, printed in the *Corriere della Sera* for September 8, demanding the evacuation of the factories as a condition for resuming

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negotiations. After emphasizing the impoverished state of the industry and the impossibility of higher wages the resolution continues:

They [the General Federation of Employers] further note that the policy of obstruction when used as an instrument of economic struggle tends to give a bad name to the industry as a whole rather than just to the employer, and above all to impoverish the country by a wasteful consumption of imported fuel and imported raw material, and draw attention to the seriousness of the acts of violence committed during the illegal and arbitrary occupation of the factories by the workers in the metal trade and during the unwarranted appropriation of industrial stocks and goods. They note that in view of the repetition of acts directed against liberty of the person, against property rights, against public law and order, acts which have assumed the complexion of political crimes and of a subversion of the constituted order of society, the Government, under a pretense of neutrality, has concealed its hesitation not merely to keep law and order but to maintain the position of the state as a superior body or power representing the national interest armed both with the determination and the capacity to guarantee the security of civil and social life. They further note the failure of control by the workers, notwithstanding the fact that they were in a position to take advantage of the accumulation of stocks and of the organization existing within each factory before its occupation. They declare that no Italian industry can survive if deprived of its security, and that there is no possibility of reopening negotiations unless the struggle is once more confined to its economic aspect and discipline and authority reestablished in the factories. They once more assert that as long as the sound instincts of the nation continue to realize the gravity of the situation and to stand by this conception of their duties and functions, the employing class considers itself bound, in the general national interest and at the cost of any sacrifice, to refuse recognition to a state of affairs in which industry can be made a battle-ground for successful attempts to overturn the political order which would conduce to the ruin of the country, and to abstain from resigning those functions of direction which it considers essential to the task of economic reconstruction. The Conference commissions the presidents to follow the further development of the struggle in cooperation with the National Federation of Employers in the Metal and Engineering Trades.

The General Federation of Labor Intervenes

Meanwhile more plants were being occupied and run by the workers, and on September 12 at an important conference of the National Council of the General Federation of Labor, held at Milan, it was decided to place the general direction of the movement in the hands of the Federation and the Socialist Party. The more important sections of the resolutions, reported in *Avanti* for September 12, follow:

The conference is of the opinion that the extension and importance of the movement do not admit of any solution on the simple basis of the dispute as stated in the metal workers' memorandum, and that this historic moment records the impossibility of the existing relations between employer and employee; it therefore approves the conclusions come to at the Conference of Milan as formulated by the General Federation of Labor and the Executive Committee of the Socialist Party, and adopts them in its turn, and votes that the movement be directed by the General Federation of Labor, assisted by the Socialist Party. It resolves that the object of the struggle shall be the recognition by the employer of the principle of labor control of the factories, hereby proposing to open a way toward those larger conquests which must infallibly lead to collective control and to socialization, with a view to an organic solution of the problem of production. Labor control will afford the working classes an opportunity for technical preparation; it will allow them, if they unite to themselves the technical and intellectual classes, who will not be able to withhold their assistance from this high task of civilization, to substitute their own authority for that of the employer which is nearing its close.

The conference urges the metal workers to maintain with all their force the positions won, calls on all organizations to obey the instructions issued by the Federation of Labor, and invites the Executive of the [Socialist] Party to make such use of its organizations as shall help bring about a definite solution in the struggle in the metal workers' trade, putting the factories in this trade under the direct control of the workers in the interests of the community.

And in order that the sacrifice of those who are fighting this bitter battle shall not be rendered of no avail by the financial difficulties which might arise in the course of a prolonged conflict, the conference resolves that all organizations aid the metal workers in such manner and in such proportion as shall be decided by the Federation. It further charges its executive officers to take such further decisions as the situation shall demand, and reminds the organizations that anything but the strictest obedience will be an act of treachery.

Toward Labor Control

Suggestions looking toward increased labor control of the metal industry were made by the Committee of Action in the following statement to the Government, printed in *Avanti* for September 14.

The General Confederation of Labor has examined the problem of production in Italy and has come to the conclusion that in order to obtain that increased output which is absolutely necessary if an equilibrium is to be reestablished between consumption (enormously raised by reason of increased demand and new conditions of living) and production (enormously decreased by reason of various factors arising out of the war), in order to reduce imports and thus hasten the restoration of a normal exchange, in order, further, to prevent ignorance of industrial conditions from affording an opportunity to the employers, on the one hand, of making unchecked statements, and to the workers, on the other, of advancing impossible claims for improvement of conditions, it is essential that there should be a modification in the relations obtaining between employers and employed. Such modification should tend to permit the latter, through the agency of their trade unions, to be in a position to know the real state of their industry, to be acquainted with its technical and financial workings, and to be able, through the work of their factory committees (being off-shoots of the trade unions), to cooperate in applying factory regulations, to control the appointment and dismissal of the employees, and thus to inspire the normal life of the factory with the necessary discipline. In order to attain these aims, the General Federation of Labor holds it essential to proceed immediately to the constitution of a committee of delegates with an equal number of representatives from both sides, which committee shall work out the details for applying the principle of the control of factories.

The Prime Minister, Signor Giolitti, then intervened, and a demand was made upon the employers that they accept the principle of workers' control in the industry. On September 17 the employers gave way and in a public statement agreed to a modification of the existing relations between workers and owners. A part of the statement follows:

The Federation repeats the statement of its belief that in the interests of an increased production (an essential element in the salvation of the nation) it is necessary that the existing state of antagonism between the employing and employed classes should cease, so that the harmonious cooperation of the employers themselves with their technical and administrative staff on the one hand, and the manual worker on the other, may result in an intensified, steady, and disciplined progress in production. It consents, provided the other side is truly inspired by a similar purpose, to accept the principle of a control of industry carried out on the basis of legislative regulations, on the condition that such regulations refrain from establishing any monopoly or

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superiority of the trades union organizations, lay down the principle of the cooperation and joint responsibility of the various factors in production, and abstain from interfering with the freedom necessary to industrial undertakings. Nevertheless, being now face to face with the Government's announced intention to issue a decree concerning the control of industry, they urge the Premier to make their own cooperation on a committee of representatives, mentioned in the decree, wholly contingent upon the absolute evacuation of the factories.

The Rome Conference

A special congress of the F. I. O. M., held at this time, adopted the following set of instructions for its delegates to the conference at Rome called by Premier Giolitti.

The special Congress of the F. I. O. M., having heard the account of the results of the negotiations with the employers; having decided that the proposals of the employers do not entirely satisfy the principal demands contained in the petition, and leave unsolved three other questions of a general nature—the matter of discipline, pay for the periods of sabotage and occupation, and the date of the application of the agreed increases; having decided that it would be impossible to accept an agreement, however satisfactory it might be from the point of view of the economic demands, which does not contain sufficient guaranties against every attempt at retaliation on the part of the employers, who, resisting the government decree which determined that all the workers should go back to their posts, show a spirit of vengeance likely to provoke new conflicts;

Maintains that the most insistent firmness should be used against any act of persecution on the part of the employers, not only against the metal workers, but also against workers in other lines, and against the technicians and employees who have actively supported the metal workers; and

Resolves that the delegation which went to Rome should insist on the final demands presented, and, in case the employers persist in their pretenses, that it should return immediately to Milan to take the steps necessary for carrying on agitation until the victory is won.

The agreement finally arrived at by the conference at Rome was published in *Avanti* for September 21.

Under the chairmanship of His Excellency, Signor Giolitti, after prolonged discussion, the parties came to the following agreement:

In view of the fact that the metal workers demanded and the employers refused back payment of wage increases, and also payment for the days of occupation, and of the fact that the employers in their turn demanded and the workers refused compensation for ascertained losses; in consideration also of the difficulty of reckoning output the parties agree that the new rates of pay instead of running from the date of the normal resumption of work shall run from July 15 of the present year, but shall exclude the payment of other compensation subsequent to the day when the factories were occupied.

In the case of factories occupied which are not included in the metal trades agreement, the general principle of agreement shall be to balance ascertained losses against ascertained output, reserving to any parties the right to proceed to fair and just agreements in all cases.

The eventual sums agreed upon shall be distributed in due proportions to all who were in employment on the day preceeding the day of occupation.

Be it noted that the employers' representatives cannot, by reason of the explicit instructions given them, accept the proposal of the President of the Council [Signor Giolitti] with regard to the conditions for the readmission to work of the workers and hereby declare that their submission to these proposals is made only as to an act of authority, responsibility for which they leave to the Government.

A decree was promptly issued by the Premier, appointing a commission to give effect to the foregoing agreement.

In view of the fact that the General Federation of Labor has formulated a request for the modification of the relations hitherto obtaining between employers and employees, to the effect that the latter through the agency of their trades unions may acquire an opportunity of controlling industry, and that this request was accompanied by an announcement that it was proposed, together with the acquisition of such control, to seek an improvement in the disciplinary relations between employers and employees and to effect an increase in production—an increase which in its turn is a necessary preliminary to the energetic restoration of national economic life;

In view of the fact that the General Federation of Employers in their turn are not opposed to the experiment of introducing a control by the organized workers with the aims and objects mentioned above;

The President of the Council of Ministers takes note of this agreement and decrees:

A commission shall be constituted of equal numbers from each side consisting of six members named by the General Federation of Employers, and six named by the General Federation of Labor, each of these panels to include two members representing technical or office work; such commission to formulate proposals which shall serve the Government as the basis for a bill embodying the organization of industry on the principle of the workers' intervention in technical and financial management or in working administration.

The said commission shall within one week formulate suggestions for solving the questions which may arise out of the application of factory rules and the employment and dismissal of workers.

Workers of all classes shall resume their employment. Should it, however, prove impossible to reinstate workers or foremen in their former employment, a committee constituted of two members chosen by the employers and two members chosen by the workers shall decide on the measures to be adopted.

Giolitti, President of the Council of Ministers

Labor's Attitude Toward the Rome Agreement

The national congress of the F. I. O. M., sitting from September 19 to September 23, adopted the following resolution to be submitted to a referendum of the workers in the occupied factories.

Considering the relation of the Committee of Action to the final results of the discussions with the employers' delegates at Rome, on points which it was not possible to settle in any satisfactory way by direct negotiations;

Declares its approval of the conquest of union control of the management, which will enable the proletariat to defend its rights and its work within the shops more efficiently and more quickly, and to get control of all those elements of production which tend to increase its technical capacity and to render more rapid and more radical the action of the unions for the suppression of private ownership;

Maintains that insistence upon workers' representation is an important factor in obtaining the guaranty that workers, technicians, and employees who participated in the movement will not be exposed to retaliation by the employers;

Warns the employers and the Government against committing acts of persecution against those who have taken active part in the movement, and pledges the masses to defend in every way any workers, leaders, and employees threatened with punishment;

Declares that on the whole the economic concessions obtained are gratifying and uphold the moral rights of the working class, which hitherto had never been admitted and applied;

Announces to the workers that the principle of pay for the period of occupation has been upheld by the concession of two weeks retroactive pay, in addition to that already agreed upon in the negotiations at Rome, and in recognition of the fact that in several localities the production during the days of occupation was in excess of the largest retroactive concession;

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Declares its approval of the work carried out by the Committee of Action, and repeats its order to complete the negotiations for the fulfilment of the agreement, insisting that the difference between the actual production and the retroactive pay be turned over to the victims of the earthquake and disorder in Tuscany;

Decides to submit this resolution to all the workers in the form of a referendum, and tells the workers to remain at their posts until the organization has given the word to move.

Avanti for September 26 announced that in the 133 sections voting on this resolution, the following results were obtained: 127,904 in favor, 44,531 against, and 3,006 not voting. Those eligible to vote were the workers who remained in the works during the period of occupation.

The referendum was followed by a statement from the Federation of Labor on the outcome of the occupation:

The great struggle begun by the metal workers and then extended to other classes of workers is approaching its end with the conclusion of the referendum taken by the F. I. O. M., a referendum which has turned out favorable to the Rome agreement. Our victory is undimmed by suspicious doubts or minor defeats; it fills our hearts with joy on account of the conquests we have made, and with pride on account of the magnificent display of discipline by the masses.

Our victory has humiliated the enemy and forced him to confess that a revolution has taken place; nevertheless, it has been minimized by certain individuals who for motives of revenge or of mean speculation seek to lessen its greatness in the eyes of the masses. Such attempts must be promptly answered; accusations must be disproved, insolence answered by arguments, assertions refuted by proofs, and constructive must replace destructive propaganda.

The Establishment of Control over the Factories: Opposition has been centered chiefly on this aspect of our victory, which has been truly revolutionary in the field of national economy. Our comrades should one and all realize the importance of this change. There is no question—as some are trying to argue—of a project of collaboration. The kind of control we demanded (of our opponents and not of the Government) was a trades union control organized industry by industry and not factory by factory. Our opponents have agreed to our demand. The Government, on the request of the employers, intervened, and has decided that a commission of an equal number of representatives from either side shall formulate the terms of a bill concerning trades union control of factories.

Our victory is thus a double one. First, it is a victory over the employer, who is aware of the importance of the step conceded and who will try to nullify it by any and every means; second, it is a victory over the Government, which had never dreamed of promoting such a bill, but lowered its flag by agreeing to the proposals of the General Federation of Labor.

The workers should understand that there will be a double system of control. The first part [of the decree], which treats of the establishment of control on a legislative basis, admits the principle of a complete control over factories. The General Federation of Labor will draw up a scheme, according to which such control will begin in each factory taken separately, and will afford the workers' delegates an opportunity of becoming acquainted with all the financial and technical details of industrial life; in this way it will no longer be possible to conceal the real condition of any industry or to defraud either worker or consumer by the use of uncontrolled speculation. We shall also have a wider organization, industry by industry; this will put at our disposition all those factors which combine to keep alive and prosperous, or to ruin, a whole industry. Trades unionists will thus be in a position to control attempted speculative activities and all those causes which produce repeated crises; they will be able to pass their own judgment on the working of the tariff system; they will know which are the favorable markets and which goods are best adapted for those markets; they will understand the international market for the exchange of raw material and manufactured goods; they will be able to lay the foundations of that future communist order which today are wholly lacking.

The second kind of control will be exercised through the factory delegates, who will be entitled to intervene in questions of factory regulations, employment, and dismissals.

Comrades ought to be in a position to understand that these changed relations amount to a real revolution in the factories, and imply the abandonment by the employer of what has hitherto been autocratic power. But it must be stated that the battle on this field is not yet won. The employer, the hostile party member, the obstinate critic of trades unionism who conceals his want of power under a pretense of pseudo-revolutionary enthusiasm, will try to delay the full fruition of our victory. We must urge the proletariat to keep watch and ward. Frequent meetings should be held to celebrate our victory. Still more frequent discussion conferences should be initiated all over Italy by comrades who have made a thorough study of the problem. Only by these means can we be secure of a final triumph.

Evacuation of the Factories: Besides the special instructions issued by the F. I. O. M. in regard to the metal works, the following general principles apply everywhere. By the terms of the Rome Agreement the factories must be handed over again to trade committees. The employer is bound to submit to such committee a statement of the estimated losses which he considers himself entitled to charge against the workers and subtract from the total output; in this connection the attention of the workers should be drawn to the fact that for all plants in the metal trade the principle has been conceded of payment for work done during the days of occupation. The trade committees must obtain definite agreements for the immediate reopening of the factories, or after the shortest interval necessary for the reestablishment of works or of some part thereof. In the case of those workers entitled to holidays, they must follow the example given in the metal trade and try to get the days during which the works remained closed recognized as holidays and not as workdays.

Reemployment: Signor Giolitti's decree clearly states, and subsequent decrees imply, that the whole body of employees without exception shall be reinstated in their employments. At the employers' request the workers shall name two representatives to the joint committee charged with the decision of disputed cases. The workers, like the employers, are entitled to submit to the committee's judgment the case of managers who in their opinion so conducted themselves toward the employees as to make their continuation in office impossible.

The Committee of Action of the Federation, before dissolving, feels itself bound to convey its warmest thanks to all the organizations for their support of the workers engaged in the struggle, and to the workers its admiration of the faith and discipline which they have displayed.

Other struggles lie before us, but final victory must be ours if the workers continue to be, as they have been on this occasion, worthy of the cause which they are defending.

The Premier's Speech

Premier Giolitti's speech, explaining the Government's position in the revolution, was printed in the *Corriere della Sera* for September 28.

We are face to face with a real change in the social order; it is useless to deny it. Every politician and statesman ought to realize this truth. . . . During 1901 and 1902, under the premiership of Signor Zanardelli, in whose cabinet I was Minister of the Interior, another vast movement arose, the outcome of which was to establish the right to strike. At that time the town laborer and to a still greater degree the country laborer was being paid wages absolutely insufficient to support life. Had the right to strike been denied them there would have been a violent explosion. Wages were paid amounting to a single lira, and I remember strikes to obtain increases of twenty-five centimes. As long ago as 1875, Signor Jacini, in his report on an

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inquiry into agricultural conditions, showed that in Lombardy itself wages were entirely insufficient for the most elementary necessities of life; well, twenty-five years later wages had sunk still lower. The right to strike is a recognition of the most elementary rights of the free human being. Subsequently, after recognition of this right, wages were more than trebled and agriculture progressed.

The outbreak of the war had certain economic, social, and financial results. The trenches were the most opportune fields for propaganda, and all the parties made impossible promises. But those who heard them looked on these promises as rights. Moreover, the habit of serious and orderly work disappeared, and not in Italy alone.

During the period of the war certain special industries arose which were dependent on a single buyer, the state; and the employer consented to grant increases of wages on condition of being allowed to compensate himself by raising his own prices to the buyer. Another consequence of the war was the unpleasant spectacle of ill-gotten wealth impudently displayed. The country believed that with the end of the war all these results would themselves disappear. This was a delusion.

We do not share the opinion of Signor Ferraris on the question of government intervention in ordinary conflicts between capital and labor. Here the Government ought to be neutral, watchfully neutral, except where its intervention is demanded for conciliatory purposes. Were the Government to intervene every time the workers asked for an increase in wages, in order to impose such an increase on the employer, it would make industrial life impossible.

I advised the employers against proclaiming the lockout, and told them that they must not count on the support of the public authorities; no promises, therefore, have been broken by the Government. It has been argued that the Government ought to have prevented the occupation of the factories, or ought to have caused them to be evacuated when occupied. In order to have prevented the occupation it would have been necessary to place a garrison in each of the 600 factories (supposing such garrisons could have arrived in time, with lightning speed) and thus to have used up the whole forces at the Government's disposal, leaving none with which to deal with the workers outside the factories, and entirely neglecting the security of the public. I should have been shutting up the public armed forces in the factories, exposing them to the danger of a siege; or, in order to obtain the evacuation of the factories, a struggle involving grave consequences would have had to take place, while all the time the Labor Federation had guaranteed the movement to be an economic and not a political one. Finally, the positive fact of occupation had had a precedent last year, when the factory of the Mazzonis firm had been occupied. At that time Signor Dante Ferraris was Minister; he recognized the occupation and despatched a Government representative to supervise the factory. Ought I to have imitated this example? Would this have been doing my duty in the way pointed out by Signor Ferraris? At any rate, this dangerous precedent had some influence on later occupations.

But in dealing with so vast a movement it is not possible to apply ordinary standards. The act of the worker in occupying a works from which the owner wishes to have him ejected is an act of disobedience; to employ force against him is to punish him with the death penalty. On the contrary, I felt myself called upon to intervene in the relations between employer and employed, and, as the Senate is aware, an agreement has been reached. [Signor Giolitti here read and explained the text of the Government decree.]

When the worker is acquainted with these conditions he will be able to calculate the directions in which he may make a successful demand. Moreover, the decree prejudges nothing. The joint commission is to formulate proposals which will serve as the basis for a bill aiming at the organization of industry on the principle of the workers' cooperation in technical, financial, and labor administration. The same commission is to propose principles of factory control and of the employment and dismissal of employees. In this way the worker will take his place as an associate and not as an enemy of the employer.

The question of the workers' control has not now arisen for the first time. . . . During December, 1919, Signor Reina proposed, in the Chamber of Deputies, an amendment to the Speech from the Throne (an amendment accepted by a large majority), to the effect that it was desirable to pursue an energetic policy in order to put a stop to the abandonment of estates, and to insure the workers against being thrown out of employment to the benefit of all classes; and it was further said that Parliament would study methods of proceeding to expropriate estates which had been abandoned or under-cultivated for the benefit of cooperative societies of workers, and that it would introduce control of the factories by the workers.

At the present moment the factories are being evacuated every day; I hope that regular work will again be started. The prefects, the officers, and men of the police force have done their duty in accordance with the orders they received; and I thank Signor Frascara for his grateful allusion to those of the men who died in defense of their duty. Their memory should be sacred to us, as of soldiers who have fallen for their country.

The Milan Agreement

The text of the wage agreement, signed at Milan on October 1, between the representatives of the employers and of the Italian Federation of Metal Workers, was printed in *L'Information Ouvrière et Sociale* (Paris) for November 14.

I. Division of Personnel

The personnel in machine shops and in similar industries shall be divided into four groups as follows:

(1) Women of all ages, boys, and apprentices up to the age of 18; (2) ordinary manual laborers of all ages and assistants up to the age of 20; (3) unspecialized workers; (4) skilled workers.

II. Increase in Wages

In all parts of Italy, with the exception of Julian Venetia, the daily wage will be increased as follows:

4 lire per day for men over 20 years of age.

80 per cent (L. 3.20) for men between the ages of 20 and 18 and for women over 20.

60 per cent (L. 2.40) for men between the ages of 18 and 15 and for women under 20.

30 per cent (L. 1.20) for boys under 15.

In small industries everywhere (those employing less than 75 workers), the increases shall equal 80 per cent of those stated above.

Deduction shall be made for increases granted in certain factories after May 15, 1920. In cases where the increases are variable, the maximum amount established in each category is to be used.

Date of enforcement: July 15, 1920.

III. Bonus System

Where it is convenient and possible, some form of profit-sharing is to be established, so that skilled workers shall receive a bonus on the same plan as the piece-work system.

IV. Minimum Wage

The minimum daily wage shall be increased by districts, on the basis of the agreed amounts of the general increase. The allotment of the daily increase mentioned in Article II shall be carried out by the regional organizations.

V. Indemnity for the High Cost of Living

In all parts of Italy a portion of the wage should be considered as indemnity for the high cost of living, susceptible to variations to be established by common agreement, based on a percentage of the cost of living. In case of a decrease in the cost of living, it is agreed to apply the principle that the corre-

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sponding decrease in indemnity for the high cost of living shall be limited to 75 per cent of the agreed increase. . . .

VI. Overtime and Night Work

The percentages for overtime and night work shall be established as follows:

(1) For the personnel in the machine and ship industries, etc., 30 per cent of the hourly pay for the first two hours after the regular eight; 50 per cent for the following three hours; 100 per cent for the hours after that; 20 per cent for night hours; 60 per cent for holidays.

(2) For the personnel in the iron and steel industries, schedule for those working at a continual fire: 25 per cent for work days; 40 per cent for holidays; for those doing other work in the iron and steel industries, the same as in the machine industries.

VII. Vacations

Workers shall be entitled to 6 days (48 working hours) vacation when they have been employed in their place of work for at least a year.

VIII. Indemnity for Dismissal

No indemnity is due a worker who has not been employed in the firm for three years without any interruption, other than call for military service.

If a worker has fulfilled this requirement, and has been dismissed for other reasons than discipline, he will be entitled, besides the regular notice, to 2 days' (16 working hours) pay for every year he has been in the service of the firm. For those now in service, ten years will be recognized as a maximum. Service after October 1, 1920, shall be calculated as surplus.

No indemnity is due a worker who has resigned of his own accord.

IX. Work Done During the Period of Sabotage

Whereas, during the period of sabotage piece workers would have been entitled only to a sum corresponding to the work actually accomplished, they are granted the nominal wage plus the indemnity for the high cost of living, as if they were bonus workers, who are to receive the nominal wage plus the indemnity but with no bonus. This is not to be considered as establishing a precedent. For other work, not begun and finished during this period, workers will be paid in the usual way.

X. Responsibility for Missing Material

It is agreed that the workers' organization shall be responsible for the restoration of anything that is missing, or for its equivalent. In case this obligation is not fulfilled, the firm is authorized to withhold the amount due from the sums to be paid out. The special cases of unjustified appropriation shall be submitted to the organizations. Suspicion of the shop committees shall be abolished.

XI. Regulations

The old regulations shall remain in force until the new disciplinary relations are established by the commission.

XII. Transfer of Workers

The local organizations agree to give to workers sent to work away from the factories, supplementary payments, in proportion to the distance they must travel.

The F. I. O. M. to its Members

Following the acceptance of the Milan agreement the Central Committee of the F. I. O. M. addressed a letter to the metal workers of Italy which was published in *Avanti* for October 6.

With the application of the labor agreement our struggle is ended. We can go back to our task of preparing and strengthening the working masses through the unions. This task was interrupted when the most formidable and aggressive of the capitalist coalitions set out to crush us. We fought with determination and faith. Our success shows that the proletariat which understands the cause for which it is struggling, and which is prepared to use all its weapons, cannot be conquered by the employers' organization. Let us apply the experience we have gained in this struggle to union action, which is becoming an increasingly potent factor.

However important they may be, the material results of the conflict are always the least significant. Moreover, we know from experience that wage increases constitute only a temporary remedy for the ever increasing cost of living. Nor has our organization (in spite of what our old enemies, the Syndicalists, may say) ever encouraged the workers to consider the union merely as a means for securing higher wages. Our Federation—though it does not neglect economic victories—has always endeavored to wrest from capitalism any concessions that might help to make the factory regime less arduous, and to elevate the moral dignity of the workers. It orginated from a struggle thirty years ago, in which the metal-workers had their first test of solidarity against the privilege of private ownership. Its policy has been to inflict blow after blow upon this privilege, holding high the banner of the organization.

While discussions continue on the methods of action which were used in this conflict, and in spite of those who pretend to be judges of our conduct, we confine our efforts to the attainment of coherent action within our ranks. The fact that we oppose rash and impulsive acts should never be interpreted to mean that we wish to teach the masses meekness and submission. We have always been anxious to avoid needless exposure to attacks by our adversaries. But we always declare—as we showed in the strike of last year—that there are moments when, faced with the armed forces of the employers, the organization and the proletariat must show tremendous courage to avoid humiliation and defeat. We have repeated the test this year by the hardest kind of action. We are proud that the weapons which we used—first sabotage, then the occupation of the works—have served to strike to the heart the employers' organization, which had dreams of teaching *us* a lesson. But, above all, we are proud of the tremendous demonstration of discipline which the workers showed on this occasion. We believe that the actual harm done to capitalism by the adoption of new methods of action, was of less importance than the panic and fright caused in the ranks of our adversaries by the spectacle of the power, understanding, and discipline of the workers. . . .

The regime of private ownership, the absolute control of capital, and the laws of the plutocrats, have been weakened by the struggle. That they may be entirely abolished, and that no control other than that of labor may be established, we must carry on the struggle and perfect our preparations. To this necessary and difficult task we call all the comrades who are loyal to the Federation and who have faith in the future of the workers' union. . . .

The Workers' Project for Control

The commission called by Premier Giolitti to settle the question of workers' control of industry began its sessions on October 21 at the headquarters of the General Federation of Italian Industry (the employers' organization). This organization was represented by Tarlarini, Riva, Questa, Mazzini, Ferrerio, and Morrettini. The workers were represented by Baldesi, for the General Federation of Labor, Buozzi for the Italian Federation of Metal Workers, Galli for the textile workers, Azimonti for the office employees, and Cattaneo for the technicians. The following is a full summary of the project of the workers, drawn up by Baldesi, and placed before the commission.

Workers' Control

Workers' control shall be applied to all industries.

The word industries includes:

(a) mines, quarries, and all types of industries where the material is extracted;

(b) enterprises in which products are manufactured, modi-

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fied, polished, repaired, decorated, finished, prepared for sale, destroyed or demolished, or in which the materials undergo a transformation, including ship-building, undertakings for the destruction of materials, as well as the production, transformation, and transmission of motor power in general and of electricity;

(c) the construction, reconstruction, management, repair, modification, or tearing down of any kind of buildings, of railroads, tramways, ports, docks, freighters, canals, equipment for internal navigation, highways, gangways, bridges, viaducts, sewers, drains, wells, water distributing stations, and any other construction work, as well as operations of preparation and foundation for the above mentioned works;

(d) the transportation of persons and merchandise over streets, railroads, waterways, and by sea, including the handling of merchandise on docks, quais, general places of storage and deposit, with the exception of transportation by hand.

Scope and Function of Controlling Bodies

The above industries shall be subject to control, whatever may be their legal status or their composition, as long as they employ at least 50 persons, and in some industries (the production of electric energy, for instance), 10 persons.

In the administrative councils of joint stock companies, the workers' committee, elected by universal suffrage by all the workers in the establishment belonging to the union, exercises a right of control equivalent to that of the unions, extending this control to the administration, management, and to the use of capital, to the carrying out of contracts, to all banking operations and technical processes of labor. During April every year the companies must renew the administrative councils and at the same time the elections of the workers' committees shall take place. In a company having various establishments or different branches of industry, supplementary committees shall be elected for each establishment.

The spheres of union control are specified in another article which recognizes their power of inspecting the administration, making proposals for the improvement of products, increase in wages, etc. The unions will report every three months to the Supreme Council of Control, communicating the report to the council chosen by the company, but omitting in the report any reference to secrets of the processes of production.

Similar rules of control are drawn up for corporations and for de facto or share-holding companies. In the latter the owner and partners must keep the administration of personal control apart from that of the managers' control so that the unions can inspect the various steps in the management without the right to investigate the personal end. Industries which have been in operation only two years or less shall be exempt from control.

Function of the Superior Commissions

The second organ of control, the Superior Union Commission, shall be formed by representatives of the unions, who will be chosen by the unions in control in the various establishments. Each branch of industry will have its own superior commission which the employer must indorse. The various commissions will exchange information on the reports between the different industries.

The Superior Commission will divide its work among all the industries and will gather information to establish cost prices, administrative methods, the general expenses of the various establishments, the machinery employed, the salaries of the workers, the employment of capital and its division, and the total amount of production in Italy, as well as the demands of the country and the opportunities for export.

After this control has been in effect for two years, all those who intend to start any kind of industry must get information from the Superior Commission which will let them know within a short time if the formation of a new industry is considered necessary and useful in Italy, or if it is not advisable. The Council of Control must make an annual report of its work to the unions which it represents, to the Superior Labor Council, and to the Minister of Industry and Commerce. These reports must contain the following information:

1. How the capital of the joint stock company is supplied. Relations between finance and industry. Difficulties or advantages arising from such relations.

2. Development of industry in Italy, its possibilities and reasons for its growth and existence. Possibility of transformation from capitalist, partnership, or individual control to a form of cooperation. Ways and means for improvement and for cooperative control.

3. Defects in production, industrial shortcomings.

4. Standards of wages in Italy for each branch of industry, indicating what new methods are possible for its improvement.

5. Statistics of production and of the comparative cost of the product in the different industries. Conditions of production with regard to foreign commerce.

6. Statistics on raw materials imported from abroad. Indication of the possibility of substituting for them national products.

A representative of the employers and of their association shall be entitled to be present at the sittings of the Superior Commission as listener only, but he may ask that those things be withheld from the discussion which might prejudice the particular interests of a special industry in favor of its competitors. Under the same conditions a representative of the Superior Labor Council will be permitted to follow the work of the commission.

Disciplinary Regulations

Employment of Workers. The employment of operators, technicians, and administrative workers must be transacted through the placement offices managed by the workers. Where such organizations do not exist, the employment of workers shall be transacted within the establishments by the managers or their agents, chosen with the consent of the workers' representatives.

In every factory or establishment, a record must be kept of the qualifications of all operators, technicians, or office workers who have been sent by the above-mentioned placement officers, or who have sought work of their own accord. The employment of workers must be made in the order of application and according to qualifications, hence, on a purely technical basis, apart from any consideration of a political or union nature. The workers' representatives shall have the right to examine the record of applications on a fixed day each week, and whenever they see fit, to demand an explanation of decisions for or against the employment of a worker, and to contest the measures taken.

Dismissals and Observance of Regulations. In case of slackness and lack of work, before proceeding to dismiss employees, the normal working hours can be reduced to a minimum of thirty-six hours per week. Where this is not enough, workers must be shifted from one section to another, wherever compatible with technical requirements. Shifting of workers, and changing of working hours, must be done in agreement with the management and the workers' committee. Dismissals and disciplinary measures against workers must be recorded and handed over every week to the workers' representatives, who shall have the right to contest them. In case an agreement is not reached between the management and the committee, where the employers' organization and the works are in different localities, negotiations can be continued through the workers' organization and the management. When an agreement is not reached, measures contemplated shall not go into effect prior to the intervention of the organizations. Offenses such as theft, fraud, etc., form an exception, excluding offenses of a political or union nature. In serious cases of discipline, where dismissal is sought, the worker involved can be suspended while decision is pending.

In case no agreement can be reached between the manage-

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ment and the workers' representatives, or through their organization, the measures in question shall be submitted to the employers' organization for that firm, and to the organization immediately concerned with the worker in question.

Workers' Representatives. The body of workers' representatives (shop committee or factory committee) can be made up from all three classes; i.e., operators, technicians, and office workers, or according to classes. The management shall place an office at the disposal of the workers' representatives. During working hours, one or more of the workers' representatives can, in turn, remain in the office for one hour or more each day, according to the importance of the establishment, in order to receive complaints from the workers, or to give out information or explanations regarding the labor agreement. The names of those in the office must be given to the management each week. All other workers must remain at their places of work, unless they are called for an urgent meeting of the committee—in which case the management must be notified—or unless they are called to confer with the management.

The negotiations between the workers' committee and the management must be carried on—except in urgent cases—on a fixed day of every week and during hours of work. The working hours during which the representatives are in the office, at an emergency meeting, or in conference with the management, must be compensated at the regular normal rate due the workers.

The committee for each class of workers shall be made up on the basis of Article 27 of the regulations now in effect in the machine and metal working plants (three members for each hundred workers, five members for each five hundred workers, seven members up to one thousand workers, and nine members for each additional thousand workers).

The method of naming the committees shall be determined by the organizations of the various classes of workers. When demanded by at least 20 per cent of the workers, or when it is doubtful to which organization the majority of workers will adhere, the elections can be held by secret ballot within the establishments.

The Proposals of the Employers

The counter project of the employers with regard to employment and dismissals follows:

The representatives of the Industrial Federation propose in their project that the employment of workers shall be made through placement offices representing both workers and employers, to be established locally or regionally according to each class of industry; that where it is not possible to establish such bureaus, workers shall be hired within the works; that these placement bureaus shall be governed by a directing committee from both groups, which shall hold office for two years; that the placement bureaus shall be guided by definite rules including the following: The workers that are unemployed as a result of decree No. 2214, of October 19, 1919, shall be employed on request at any available work. Workers seeking employment shall be divided into two distinct categories; one shall include workers who for any reason have left an establishment which is under the control of the bureaus; the other shall include workers who have been transferred or who intend to be transferred in the same region. The workers of the first category shall always have precedence; the employers shall consent to employ only workers who have been previously registered at the bureau of placement, with the exception of new workers.

Operators who are registered will be placed without regard to whether they are organized or not on the basis of the length of time they have been registered in their respective categories; the bureau shall not have charge of the placement of auxiliary or specialized workers. The bureau shall not place operators in firms where there is a strike or a lockout. The bureau cannot in any case refuse to supply workers to a firm when they are available.

As for dismissals, the employers propose that when in the judgment of the management a firm should reduce or entirely suspend work in one or more parts of the establishment, before proceeding to dismissal the normal working hours shall be temporarily reduced to a minimum of 36 hours a week when it is compatible with the character and demands in the establishment concerned. Where this is not enough, and it is compatible with the technical demand for work, the workers must be shifted from one part of the establishment to another.

If, as a result of this shifting, a worker should pass to a higher or lower grade of work, it is understood that when he returns to his regular job, he will be paid the regular rate.

The method of application of these measures shall be determined by the workers' committee. With regard to the workers' representatives in each establishment, it is proposed that the workers' representative shall be affiliated in each establishment with the shop committees made up on the basis of the rules now in effect; the management shall place an office at the disposal of the shop committee.

The shop committee shall represent the workers within the establishment on all questions of a general or individual nature pertaining to general principles. All the activities of the shop committees and their members should be exercised outside of the regular working hours, and in all cases where the members of the shop committees are called to confer with the management during working hours, they should be paid their regular rate.

The Failure of the Commission

After sittings covering a period of nearly three weeks the commission came to the conclusion that it was impossible to reach any agreement or compromise, and the following resolution, published in the *Corriere della Sera* for November 10, was adopted.

The representatives of both groups of the commission for the control of industry, having decided in the course of the discussions that their respective conceptions regarding the control of industry and the method of bringing it into effect differ so fundamentally as to render impossible any collaboration for a harmonious solution, recognize the futility of carrying on further discussion; declare the work of the commission at an end; and decide to present separately their respective conclusions.

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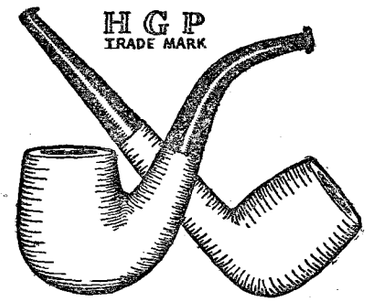

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Section II

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American Commission on Conditions in Ireland

Second Report:—Hearings in Washington, D. C., December 8 and 9, 1920

Testimony of Mrs. Terence MacSwiney and Miss Mary MacSwiney

INTRODUCTION

THE American Commission on Ireland resumed its public hearings on December 8 in Odd Fellows Hall in Washington. There were present of the Commission: Miss Addams, Senator Walsh, James H. Maurer, L. Hollingsworth Wood, with Frederic C. Howe, presiding, together with two new members, the Rev. Norman Thomas, of New York, and Senator George W. Norris, of Nebraska. Two other newly appointed members, Major Oliver P. Newman, of Washington, D. C., and Congressman-elect C. L. Knight, of Akron, Ohio, have accepted and will attend sessions shortly. At the hearings on December 8 and 9, Senators Gore of Oklahoma and Walsh of Montana, and ex-Senator James P. Martine of New Jersey, sat with the Committee. These hearings were given over to the testimony of Mrs. Terence MacSwiney and Miss Mary MacSwiney, extracts from which are printed below. On Friday the Commission heard the testimony of three former members of the Royal Irish Constabulary, and of Mr. P. J. Guilfoil, of Pittsburgh, who was an eye witness last summer of a military raid on a small town in County Clare. Miss MacSwiney then testified as to the inquest into the death of Lord Mayor MacCurtain of Cork and the facts as to his murder, and other witnesses were heard.

On Wednesday the Commission was informed that the British Embassy would not visé the passports issued to members of the Commission by the State Department. Mr. R. L. Craigie, First Secretary of the British Embassy, notified the Secretary of the Commission of the decision in these words:

I am directed by his Britannic Majesty's Ambassador to inform you that the proposed visit to British territory is not agreeable to His Majesty's Government. Visés will therefore not be affixed to the passports in question. The passport officer in New York has been instructed accordingly.

This decision has been reached after full consideration of the circumstances of the case, and I am to refer you to the Ambassador's communication of Oct. 23, in which he informed you that he was unable to believe that the truth could be established until there had been a period of quiet in Ireland, and then only by persons of the greatest experience of the laws of evidence, with power to compel the production of books, papers and records, and that any other form of inquiry would, in his opinion, lead only to a mass of statements, unsupported by facts, being made for propaganda purposes.

Sir Auckland Geddes had ventured to hope that the full meaning and significance of these observations would have been clear.

To this communication the Commission replied as follows:

The American Commission on Conditions in Ireland, chosen by the Committee of One Hundred, has received your communication stating that visés will not be affixed to the passports of a committee of its members appointed to visit Great Britain "to investigate conditions in Ireland." Your statement assumes that the proceedings of the committee would necessarily partake of a quasi-judicial character impossible under the circumstances. We venture to suggest that the embassy has somewhat misunderstood both the situation and our own purpose. A committee of friendly American citizens, deeply desirous of world peace, might in a much simpler manner than you suggest ascertain the state of public opinion both in England and in Ireland and learn facts not now understood in America; indeed, some such step has seemed to the commission imperative, in view of the fact that thus far, in spite of zealous efforts, we have been unable to secure competent witnesses to present testimony on the existing situation from non-republican British and Irish points of view.

In seeking to send our committee to Great Britain we have but followed the suggestion originally given us by representatives of various groups prominent in both English and Irish life. We had expected that this step would meet with your approval, in view of the fact that in his letter of Oct. 23 Sir Auckland Geddes stated that "The British Government has more to gain than any one in insuring that the truth is made known to the whole world."

It was and is our firm conviction that such a committee as we had intended to send might make plain to the peoples both of England and Ireland the compelling reasons for America's interest. The American people are united by ties of blood to both countries. The Irish question deeply engrosses our people's interest. It is literally a domestic issue within the United States. If the present tragic conditions continue, they will menace world friendship and ultimately world peace.

In view of these facts we cannot but hope that the decision of the British Government is not final. If your letter were to represent the final opinion of the British Government, some regrettable conclusions would seem to follow. It would seem to imply autocratic interference on the part of the Government with the free communication of friendly peoples. It would check for the moment a modest but sincere effort toward the formation of international public opinion which could be made to focus upon problems which threaten the peace of the world.

The commission will continue its work in conformity with its original purpose. It cannot but hope that both in England and in Ireland there will be a full understanding of its friendly purposes, as each day's events make more evident the tragic possibilities inherent in the situation.

Following the publication of this letter Mr. James H. Maurer of the Commission despatched a cablegram to William P. Adamson, Chairman of the Labor Party in the British House of Commons protesting against the action of the British Government in refusing to visé the passports of the sub-committee. Mr. Maurer said that he wished to enter through Mr. Adamson, as the head of the British Labor Party, "a protest to the English people against this autocratic action of the British Government in suppressing truth and free speech from the liberty-loving people of two democracies and to ask if such action, aimed at unprejudiced Americans seeking only to serve the ends of international understanding and world peace, has the sanction of the British Labor Party."

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The Testimony of Mrs. MacSwiney

Before the Commission sitting in Odd Fellows Hall, Washington, D. C., Thursday, December 9, 1920. Session called to order by Chairman Howe at 9.50 A.M. Present: Commissioners Addams, Howe, Maurer, Newman, Norris, Thomas, Walsh, Wood.

Q. MR. F. P. WALSH: Will you please state your name, Mrs. MacSwiney. A. Muriel MacSwiney.

Q. And where do you reside? A. In Cork.

Q. You are the widow of Terence MacSwiney? A. Yes, I am.

Q. And he died on what day? A. I am not sure,—I am not sure of the exact date.

Q. And where? A. In Brixton prison, in London.

Q. And at the time of your husband's arrest, what was your husband's business or profession? A. He was the Lord Mayor of the city of Cork.

Q. And did he have any other official connection? A. Yes, he was an officer in the Irish Republican Army.

Q. You were born where? A. I was born in Cork.

Q. And what was the name of your parents? A. My father's name was Michael Murphy.

Q. Of Cork? A. Yes, of Cork. And Mary Purcell was my mother's name.

Q. And your father is dead? A. Yes, he died in 1916.

Q. And you have brothers and sisters? A. Yes, I have.

Q. How many? A. Three sisters.

Q. What was the date of your marriage with Mr. MacSwiney? A. June 9, 1917.

Q. You can go ahead now and state your own position in this matter. When, if at any time, did you become interested in the cause of Irish independence, and what actuated you? A. Well, I think what actuated me was that all my life, even when still quite a baby, I never understood why there should be poor people and rich people. You know there is a great deal of poverty in Ireland, especially in Cork. You cannot help noticing the many poor children with no clothes and stockings and the like. I noticed that when a baby. I could not understand why it should be. However, I do not think it is right to give people things only in charity. There should be no need of that. There's a plenty in Ireland for everybody to have enough. As I grew older I saw that things could not be set right except by government.

Q. Was this prior to your marriage? A. Oh yes, that was when I was quite a child. And I saw that while England was there we could do nothing, because she destroyed our business and kept us poor.

Q. What was the business of your father? A. He had a big distillery.

Q. Briefly stated, he was a man in comfortable circumstances? A. Oh yes, very.

Q. You say as a child you were moved by the poverty that existed in your country, and the reasons for it, and why it should be so? A. Yes, I was.

Q. Please proceed. A. As I got older, as I have told you, I saw that England was responsible for all that, and if we had our own government we could do something; and until we had our own government we could do nothing. I saw that, and I picked up other things, and I learned that England was only there as a thief, and had no right to be there at all.

Q. Where were you educated, Mrs. MacSwiney? A. I was educated at home until I was fifteen, and then I was sent to England for two years.

Q. To what school? A. To Saint Leonard's Convent of the Holy Child. They have a great many convents in America, by the way; and many in England.

Q. And where was your education finished? A. There, at Hastings, in the South of England.

Q. Did you have any personal interest in the Irish republican movement after your graduation? A. Yes, I did. You see, my parents are not quite like myself. I think I am rather characteristic of a certain section in Ireland. The younger people of Ireland have been thinking in a way that some of the older ones have not. Some years ago the Unionists did not wish an Irish Republic. They wished to belong to England. They were well off and quite comfortable and thought only of themselves. That is dying out now. The younger members of such families are Republican. On that account I did not get the opportunity to meet Republicans when I was a child. That was why I was sent to England to school. I am only characteristic of a great many who are brought up shut up at home. And still the Irish spirit comes out of them in spite of everything. So until I was about twenty-two I did not get the opportunity to do very much.

Q. What is your age now? A. I am twenty-eight.

Q. When did you first meet Terence MacSwiney? A. I met him in 1915, about Christmas.

Q. Were you interested in the republican movement before then? A. Oh yes, I was, sometime before then.

Q. You might state what your activities have been prior to that time? A. My thought has long been that we should have an Irish Republic, and that England should go from Ireland.

Q. Did you belong to any organization up to that time? A. I did not, up to that time. I had spoken to people, of course.

Q. But you had not been connected with any republican organization? A. No, on account of my family. I was living at home, of course.

Q. I wish you would proceed and tell about your husband, and your marriage, and tell the whole story down to the present. A. Well, I met my husband at the house of mutual friends about Christmas, 1915. And, well, I did not really get to know him very intimately at that time. Some time after that I met him a few times. At that time he was a commandant of the Irish Republican Army.

Q. He was a commandant? A. Yes, in the South of Ireland. Of course, my husband has been in all the movements ever since he was a boy; because, of course, as his sister has told you, theirs is a very old family around Cork. She can tell you about that better than I can, because she knew him before I did. I met him, as I said, about Christmas. And he was arrested for a month after Christmas.

Q. Upon what charge, if any? A. The charge of making a speech. But he was kept without trial for a whole month. He was never tried at all. He had to be released in the end.

Q. Where was he confined? A. In Cork prison. And he was quite ill then.

Q. What was the date? A. My sister-in-law can tell you the date. Q. In 1916? A. In 1916.

Q. Was it after the insurrection or before? A. Oh, before. Well, when we got the news in Cork of the insurrection in 1916, we heard there was something up in Dublin. And I went into town to try to find out what had happened. I heard that my husband was up at the Volunteer Hall, the headquarters of the republican army in Cork. There was danger in Cork then. He had been sleeping there because they thought it was safer for him. It was not well for him to be alone. He might be shot or arrested. He was up at the hall all the week. I had a chance to see him and get the news of what was happening in Dublin and in Cork. My husband was arrested after that.

Q. What date was that? A. I cannot give the date exactly. It was after Easter Week.

Q. What was the date of your marriage? A. The ninth of June, 1917.

Q. And I believe you have one child? A. Yes.

Q. And the name of your child? A. Maura.

Q. And when was Maura born? A. She was born on the twenty-third of June, 1918.

Q. Had your husband been arrested before you were married? A. Yes, I told you he had. Easter Week, 1916.

Q. And he was arrested after that—after your marriage?

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The Witnesses:—The Widow and Sister of the late Lord Mayor of Cork

Mrs. Muriel MacSwiney and Miss Mary MacSwiney

A. Oh, yes, like all men in Ireland, whether they had fought or not. They were all arrested, after Easter Week.

Q. And when was he first arrested? A. Then—after Easter.

Q. And how long was he confined? A. He was confined until after Christmas.

Q. And where was he sent? A. First of all, he was sent to Richmond barracks, in Dublin, and he was then deported to Wakefield prison in England.

Q. And he got out under the general amnesty? A. Yes, with the other prisoners at Christmas.

Q. During all that time there was no formal charge lodged against him? A. No, none of those were charged.

Q. They just kept him in jail until Christmas time? A. They did, for nearly a year.

Q. From that time what was the course of your husband? A. I visited him in Richmond barracks, I should say. And then I was sent over by our own people to England to do something for the men who were in the prisons there. Our men were in a terrible condition at that time. In the beginning none of their folks were allowed to see them. When I went over first, I went to Wormwood Scrubbs in London and then I went to Wakefield, where my husband was, because I was supposed to look after the Cork men, and my husband and they were in Wakefield.

Q. How many were confined? A. Hundreds, if not thousands. The whole of Ireland was in jail at that time, and people who had never handled arms also. When I went there our men were in a terrible condition. They were literally starving. I know one friend of mine—he had never handled arms. He was from Bandon in County Cork. I was godmother to one of his children. He was sent to Wakefield before my husband was. He was not allowed anything, not a book, not even a prayerbook. All of his wife's letters were stopped, and he thought that something had happened to her, because she was not very strong at that time. But his wife was one of the first to get into the jails to see their people. Well, I went over just

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to help those men. It was June when I went over. They were in a frightful state. They had literally no food except what we brought them. Of course, there were many Dublin men there, too, but I was looking after the Cork men.

Q. After they were released in 1916, tell what happened. A. I was ill after they were released in 1916.

Q. Were you in Cork? A. Yes, I was in Cork, and I was in Dublin for a month, and then I went over to England for a visit. And while I was there I got the news that my husband had been arrested again. He had been out a very short time, about a month, I think.

Q. What was the date of that? A. In February, 1917.

A MARRIAGE IN JAIL

Q. On what charge? A. There was no charge whatever. He was deported to England with several others from different parts of the country. I heard just that they were arrested and deported to England. I did not know where they were, of course. At that time we were not engaged, but only friends; but I think I felt how things were, and that he felt the same as myself. I was in London then, and went to Cambridge to stay there with an Irish friend. She was at the university there. At that time no communication was allowed with our men in jail whatever. I found out from Mr. Lawrence Grinnell, the Irish M. P., that he had seen some of the men and he thought that my husband was in Shrewsbury. I met a policeman at the station and asked him where the men were, and he said that the military had charge of them, and told me to ask a soldier. I asked a soldier and he said they had gone, and that nobody would ever know where they had gone. I felt very badly. I did not know what to do. And that night I heard from him. They had been sent up to Bromyard in Herefordshire. And I went up to see him. And we really become engaged that night.

Q. He was in jail then? A. Yes, he was the same as in jail. He was confined to a certain area, and could not go out of it.

Q. What date was that? A. That would be,—Oh, we were engaged on the third of March.

Q. And how long was he interned after that time? A. He was there until after we were married.

Q. When were you married? A. About a fortnight in June.

Q. And how long did you remain in England? A. We had to remain in England for a time after that. But although we were in England, we were married by an Irish priest, Father Augustine. You have had him over here. And we were married in our own language, the Irish language.

Q. And that was on what date? A. The ninth of June, 1917.

Q. And you went back to Ireland when? A. About a fortnight after that. The men were released, those who were interned, and we all went back to Ireland at that time. I went back to Ireland with him, and then we went off in the country together. And that time was about the only one that we had together.

Q. How long did you remain there? A. For some time.

Q. Where were you? A. At Ballingeary, in County Cork, a very, very beautiful place out in the country where they still do things in the old Irish way. They do not know English there yet, I am glad to say, and they are very much better off for it.

Q. Where did you go from Ballingeary? A. We returned to Cork.

Q. How long, then, did you remain at Cork? A. About three months. And then my husband had to go up to Dublin to look after his affairs, but he did not stay there.

Q. He came back to Cork then? A. Yes, he came back to Cork and tried to settle down, and it was while we were there, in the house that we had just got, that he was arrested.

Q. He was arrested? A. Yes, he was arrested about seven o'clock in the morning by seven policemen.

Q. Were you there then? A. Yes, I was.

Q. How was he arrested? A. They came to the house for him and took him, and although it was but seven o'clock in the morning, they were afraid to take him through the streets of the city where someone might see them. And although my husband had lived in Cork all his life and knew the city well, they went in such a round-about way that he said he did not know some of the streets through which they took him.

Q. What was the charge on which they arrested him? A. Wearing a uniform of the Irish Republican Army.

Q. Your husband was taken to prison and went on a hunger strike? A. Yes sir.

Q. How long did your husband go without food? A. He went without food for three days.

Q. That was at what time? A. Just before Christmas.

Q. 1917? A. Yes, 1917. He was at home for Christmas.

Q. COMMISSIONER WALSH. Was that the hunger strike that the Irish prisoners all demanded that a hearing be given them and charges produced or that they be freed. A. No sir.

Q. MR. F. P. WALSH. That was not the Mountjoy hunger strike? A. Oh no. This was in Cork.

Q. There was a large hunger strike later in Mountjoy? A. Yes, there was.

Q. About how many went on this strike? A. About twenty, I think.

Q. They all went without food for several days? A. Yes.

Q. They were released by the Christmas amnesty? A. Yes.

Q. And how long after this was he again arrested? A. I want to say that this was the only Christmas I ever had my husband for. It was the only Christmas that we were together. He was arrested again in the beginning of March.

Q. 1917? A. 1918. I went up to Dublin to rest, and he went up with me to keep me company. We arrived in Dublin about two, and three of these G Division men came and arrested him about six. I never speak to these people at all, because I think it is better not to. But this time I had to. I asked them where they were taking my husband, and they would not tell me. They twisted and twisted, and said, "It's uncertain." I know very well that they knew, because they were men high up. I kept after them, and two of the men said they would come back the next morning and tell me where my husband was taken to.

Q. Where was he taken? A. He was taken to the Bridewell in Dublin. It was a terrible place.

Q. Where is the Bridewell located? A. There are several Bridewells in Dublin. This Bridewell was near the Four Corners.

Q. Describe this place. A. The men were not treated like human beings there. They had no mattresses, no bedclothing, no anything. And what struck me as most terrible was that they had sort of round holes in the doors, and the prisoners could just stick their heads through. And some of them were mere boys there in that frightful place.

Q. How long was your husband there? A. He was taken away the next morning to Belfast. And those men came back the next morning and would give me no information whatever. And there I was, not knowing where to look or what to do. And then I learned he was at Belfast. He was in jail there for about three weeks, and then he was removed to Dundalk.

Q. MR. F. P. WALSH. How long was he in Dundalk? A. He was there until the beginning of September.

Q. From what date? A. From about the middle of March.

Q. What time was Maura born? A. Well, he was up in Dundalk. Of course, I was in Belfast first, and then I was in Dundalk until I had to go home—until the baby was about to be born. My husband wished that she should be born in Cork, his native city. He said that she might have to work for Ireland, and he wanted her to be born there. I went home the end of May, and she was born the twenty-first of June.

Q. When did you husband first see her? A. He was in Dundalk when she was born, but he was moved to Belfast soon afterwards, and we had to take her up there to see her father, because, although his sentence would be completed soon, they had at that time taken to arresting people on the door of the jail just as they were walking out on finishing their sentence, and then deporting them to England without any charge at all.

Q. What was your husband's sentence on the original charge

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against him? A. That was the sentence against him just after we were married. He got six months for wearing a uniform of the Irish Republican Army.

Q. Did your husband have any official position in it then? A. Yes, he was a commandant in the Irish Army at that time.

Q. You say you went up to be there at the time of his release? A. Yes, I went up there, for we knew that probably he would be deported to England like the others, and that was the reason that I took the baby up; because if he was deported to England I might not be allowed to see him at all, and he might never see his little daughter. I was staying a good distance from the prison, because I thought it would be better to be where I was when I stayed in Belfast before, because the lady there liked children.

Q. How old was the baby? A. She was six weeks old. We left Cork at three, and we did not get to Belfast until half past ten at night. My sister-in-law went with me—not this one, but the other sister-in-law. Of course, a long trip like that was not very good for the baby, as your wife can tell you.

Q. How long did you stay there? A. About a fortnight. She used to be taken into the prison every day. I don't suppose anyone so young had ever been taken into that prison before. She was so young. Her father, of course, was delighted to see her. If he had been allowed to act according to his interests and desires, he would have stayed at home with the baby and me. He liked his home. That is, he would have liked to do that if Ireland had been free.

Q. When did he return home? A. Oh, you see he was arrested just as he was walking out of the jail, as we expected.

Q. Were you there? A. He did not wish me to be present, because the police might pull me back and hurt me, as they often do in Ireland.

Q. Where did you go? A. I went back to Cork, and I was there when he was deported.

Q. What was that date? A. About the beginning of September. About the fourth of September, I think.

Q. Where was he taken? A. He was taken to Lincoln. President De Valera was there at that time. He was sent there earlier than my husband.

Q. Did you visit him there? A. I was not allowed to see him. I had practically no communication with him at that time because the letters I sent him had to go through the prison authorities and through the English authorities at London also.

Q. How long did that endure? A. From September to the beginning of March.

Q. When did you again see your husband? A. In March.

Q. He returned to Cork? A. Yes, to Cork. He was released before the others a little bit on parole, because I had the influenza. He got a week on parole, and by the time that was up he was released. He expected that they intended to release him or they would not have let him be with me then. Because, you see, at the time the baby was born he was in Ireland.

Q. Did he attempt to be paroled at the time of the birth of the baby? A. He would have liked to, of course.

Q. Was any effort made that you know of? A. Not that I know of. Of course, I was ill at the time.

Q. What was the date of his release from prison that you spoke of? A. In March, 1919.

Q. Who was Lord Mayor of Cork at that time? Was it before the election of Mr. MacCurtain? A. Yes. It was Mr. Butterfield who was Lord Mayor then.

Q. Was he arrested from that time down to the time he was elected Lord Mayor of Cork? A. No, he was not.

Q. I wish you would detail what took place from that time to the time he was elected Lord Mayor of Cork. The elections intervened? A. Yes, they did.

Q. He was a candidate from where? A. He was a candidate from Mid Cork.

Q. Is that a part of the county of Cork? A. Yes. That was the place where my husband's family was from. That was the place where we spent our honeymoon. Because what time we spent in England when we were married we did not count as a honeymoon. It was when we got back to Ballingeary, when he came back that time when he was released. The little girl was about nine months old. We were afraid she would begin to speak then, and her father wanted her to learn Irish. I did not know very much Irish at that time. My husband knew it very, very well, but I did not know much. I had not made much headway with it. So I went down to that place I spoke of, which is the Irish-speaking district.

Q. For how long? A. For seven months, I think it was. Of course, in our country almost everybody knows English. They used to know Irish before the English came into the country, but in the towns the Irish language had died out a bit, and only the old folks knew it. We had this ring (indicating small gold circle on dress). You can get this ring when you sign a paper and say that you will not speak any English to anybody else who has this ring. And after I was back in Ballingeary awhile I got this ring. And after I got it, I never spoke a word of English to my husband or to the baby.

Q. The baby is how old? A. About two and one-half years.

Q. And she speaks Irish? A. Yes, Irish. In this district where I was, there are a lot of tourists and they speak English, of course. But for the last three weeks I was there I never spoke a word of English to anybody. Of course, my husband was there then, and he never spoke a word of English either. We gave one of these rings to the baby when she was born, so that she would always speak her own language. We had to take it away from her because she put it in her mouth, but I think it is time to give it to her again.

Q. Did you vote at the election? A. No, I did not.

Q. They held a general election, however, at which all the men and women of Cork were entitled to vote? A. Yes.

Q. And they did vote? A. Oh, yes.

Q. Where were you at the time? A. I was in Cork, but I was ill.

Q. What is the age of the franchise for women? A. I do not know. My sister-in-law can tell you that better than I can.

Q. It is thirty, I understand. A. Yes, I think so.

Q. You are still an infant so far as the franchise is concerned. A. Yes sir.

Q. In this general election there was a full and free vote for members of the Council? A. Yes.

Q. Do you recall the number of candidates voted on at that time? A. About thirty, I think.

MISS MARY MACSWINEY. There were more than that, about sixty-six.

MR. F. P. WALSH. Miss MacSwiney says sixty-six.

THE WITNESS. Yes, I don't know much about it.

Q. Following that election who was elected mayor of Cork? A. Mayor MacCurtain.

Q. And he was a friend of your husband? A. Yes indeed, a lifelong friend. Mrs. MacCurtain used to tell me that if my husband was a girl, she would be jealous of him, because they were together for so long a time, and planned and worked for Ireland together.

Q. Were you in Cork at the time of the death of Lord Mayor MacCurtain? A. Yes.

Q. Were you there at the inquest? A. I was in Cork, but I was very ill at the time.

Q. Just describe the events leading up to the death of your husband. After the death of Lord Mayor MacCurtain your husband was elected Lord Mayor of Cork? A. Yes, he was.

Q. And you were not present when he was invested with office? A. No.

Q. How long was he Lord Mayor of Cork until his arrest? A. About six months.

Q. And were you in Cork all that time? A. We came back to Cork before the election, and we got another house. We gave up the other. But my husband could not stay there nights.

Q. Why? A. Because he would be arrested. The English police and soldiers would arrest him. For years he has had to

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do that. He really could not be with me at all. He could not be where they might find him nights. I stayed with friends, cousins of my husband. The house was a little bit out of the way, a side house, and he could come there occasionally, but always at a very great risk for fear of being arrested. The baby was nearly two years old then, but she did not see much of her father. And she was awfully fond of him. He had a telephone in his office when he was made Lord Mayor, in his office at the City Hall. And I used to speak to him on the telephone. Sometimes I was speaking to other people, but whoever I was speaking to on the telephone, the baby would shout and snatch the receiver out of my hand and think it was her father, and she would whisper, just whisper to him. She loved him and he loved her, and wanted to be with her more than anything else.

Q. Your husband was a literary man, I believe? A. Yes, he was. He wrote a lot. He wrote some very excellent poems.

Q. You might describe him, his inclinations, age, appearance, and so forth. A. I think the chief characteristic of my husband—apart from his love of Ireland, which was above everything else—was his love of people, his charity. He never said a word against anybody. I never heard him say a word against his very worst enemies. I remember that when he was in Wakefield, a few of them were put into solitary confinement, and they thought that surely they would be shot, because some others had been shot who were in solitary confinement. And even then, when he expected death, he would not say anything harsh against the English.

Q. How tall was he? A. Fairly tall.

Q. Dark complexion? A. Yes, very dark, with black hair—a lot of it, with one big lock that was always getting over his face. We used to tease him about that lock of hair. He was very good looking, I think.

Q. Of course, you were familiar with what he wrote? A. Yes.

Q. What was it, in a general way? Did he write verse? A. Oh, yes, he was always more of a poet than anything else, I think.

Q. And did that go back to his young manhood? A. Oh, yes. When he was about thirteen or fourteen he wrote some beautiful things, some of his most beautiful things. He wrote plays, too.

Q. What was his education? A. He was educated at the North Monastery in Cork, the Christian Brothers in Cork. But, of course, he educated himself as most Irish people do. My husband's father died when he was fifteen, and he had to be taken away from school and go into business. And so he studied at nights, although he was working hard from eight-thirty in the morning until six.

Q. What was his business? A. He was an accountant in Cork. At first he used to stay up most of the night and study, but he found that was very bad for him and he got headaches and the like. And then he used to come home and have tea and go to bed and then get up about two in the morning and study. And when I heard that, I thought that a man like that could do anything. At first he would have a fire, but he found that that would make him sleepy, so that even in cold weather, in the winter, he would be without a fire. And he studied like that until he got his degree.

Q. What degree did he get? A. The degree from the Royal University of Ireland.

Q. Just describe his election as Lord Mayor of Cork. He expected to be elected Lord Mayor? A. Of course, he thought he would be. He knew it was a very dangerous post, after what had happened to his predecessor. Mayor MacCurtain was his greatest friend, I might say, and it was his duty to fill his place.

Q. Did you have any conversation with him about it? A. Not very much because I was ill at the time.

Q. Briefly, for the record, tell what did happen to his predecessor. A. He was just at home one night asleep in his own house.

THE MURDER OF MAYOR MacCURTAIN

Q. What was his name? A. Thomas MacCurtain. He was a very quiet sort of man, and just like my husband, he would have liked to be at home with his wife and children all the time. He had five children, very sweet little children. One was only a year old. He was at home one night sleeping with his wife and children, and his sister-in-laws were also there. And there was a knock at the door and his wife went to the door—the men do not answer the door at night in Ireland, for they might be shot. The men broke into the house and pinioned her arms, and went upstairs and shot the Lord Mayor.

Q. In the presence of his wife? A. Yes.

Q. CHAIRMAN HOWE. At what hour? A. In the middle of the night. At a time when there would be nobody about.

Q. MR. F. P. WALSH. Was it developed afterwards in the coroner's inquest who did the shooting of the Lord Mayor? A. Yes, it was. The police.

Q. The British police? A. Yes, of course, the British police in Ireland, but at the orders of their Government.

Q. The coroner's jury found that Mayor MacCurtain was killed by the Irish Police under orders from the British Government? A. Yes, the Irish police, being part of the English forces.

Q. How long after the killing of Lord Mayor MacCurtain was your husband elected? A. Almost immediately afterwards, when the funeral and all that was over.

Q. And during the time that he was Lord Mayor of Cork did he live at home? A. No, he could not.

Q. He was still pursued and had to live in the homes of other people? A. Yes. It was very much worse after he was Lord Mayor of Cork than it was ever before.

Q. Did the corporation meet from time to time? A. Yes,

Q. And did he preside at the meetings? A. Certainly.

Q. CHAIRMAN HOWE. Did they meet in the town hall? A. Yes, in the city hall. It was not secret. Anybody could go in.

Q. MR. F. P. WALSH. It might be interesting to know why they did not arrest the Lord Mayor when they were meeting? A. I do not know. Perhaps they were afraid of public opinion.

Q. As a matter of fact the police do not work in the daytime? Do they not expect to surprise these men in their homes and in their beds? A. Oh, yes. I think that they are afraid of doing it in a public place.

Q. COMMISSIONER NORRIS. He thought he would be arrested or murdered if he stayed in his own home? A. Oh, yes. He never even went about alone. He could not. Some one went with him, not so much to guard him as to identify anyone who might attack him. A volunteer went with him or I often went.

Q. CHAIRMAN HOWE. And that was the reason they did not do it in public. A. Yes. Of course, they did not want to be identified.

Q. MR. F. P. WALSH. And furthermore it would create a hostile popular demonstration to shoot him in public? A. Oh, yes, certainly it would. They would not shoot him where they might be identified. I could identify an assailant as well as anybody else, so I was often with him.

Q. Just give us your own general description of his life after that. A. As I told you, since the Christmas before, after I came back from the country, I lived with distant relations and friends, because we could not stay in a house of our own when he could never be there at all, and I could not very well be there on account of the raids and that sort of thing going on. And so I saw my husband sometimes because I was in the house of friends, but indeed very, very seldom, and always at a very great risk. Sometimes he would come up after dark, because it was a little out of the way place, outside of the city. And then he would come after dark and go away the first thing in the morning. The only meal I could have him for was breakfast, and that on rare occasions. I hardly ever saw my husband at all, to tell the truth.

Q. And that continued for six months after he was elected

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Lord Mayor? A. Yes, of course, ever since we were married. But it was very, very much worse after he was elected Lord Mayor.

THE FINAL ARREST

Q. When was your husband arrested the last time? A. August 12.

Q. Where were you at that time? A. I was in Cork on the twelfth of August, and at two o'clock on that day I and my little girl went to the seaside, to Youghal, an out of the way place not very far from Cork. I did not know about my husband's arrest until the next morning, when a friend came over with the paper and told me that he was arrested the night before about seven o'clock.

Q. What did you do then? A. What could I do? There was nobody to mind the baby except myself. I had nobody to take her except strangers, and she would not go to them. My sister-in-law here came down to take care of the baby. She came down the next day, Saturday. They had tried to see my husband—both of my sisters-in-law tried to see him. He had been arrested and taken to the military barracks, and they were not allowed to see him. They could not see him until Saturday morning. He was then on hunger strike.

Q. When did you go to Cork? A. I did not go to Cork until Monday. I went up to my sister-in-law's house. This sister-in-law (indicating Miss Mary MacSwiney) was down at the seashore taking care of the baby. That was the day of the trial.

Q. Did you see him before the trial? A. My sister-in-law and myself went up to the barracks. That was where he was to be tried. A big military lorry came up, a very large one. I never saw so many soldiers in a military lorry in my life before. My husband was sitting in the center of them on a chair. That was Monday morning. He had been on a hunger strike since the morning of his arrest on Thursday.

Q. Had you been advised of that? A. Yes. I need not tell you that he was very weak. It seemed such a cruel thing to have so many armed men guarding so weak a one.

Q. Was he all alone in the lorry? A. Yes, there were no other prisoners. He was in very great pain. He looked it. I think that was one of the worst times for me. From the morning that I heard my husband was on a hunger strike, I believed that he would die. I felt terribly on that day when I saw him, because I knew he was in pain, and it was an awful thing that I could not give him anything to eat. They took him up very high stairs to a place where they were going to try him; and then they changed and took him down again. I saw by his face that he was suffering, and I said to one of the soldiers, could they not give him a chair, because he had been without food for so long. That is one of the worst times in a hunger strike—the first few days, because it is so painful. I was speaking to him in Irish and they did not interfere. He told me that he felt himself that he would be sentenced, and that he would be deported to England, and that the others arrested with him would get out. But, of course, he was pleased with that. He wanted to suffer for everybody else's wrongs.

Q. Had he stated his intentions at any time to you? A. Oh, yes, he did. He felt that what might happen to him was very unimportant to whatever he could do to help Ireland.

Q. Anything that you think would be of interest just tell the Commission. A. I think I would like to describe the trial. Of course, I always knew what my husband's motives and intentions were. He had no other idea in his head but to die for his country if need be.

Q. Describe the trial, then. A. Might I read my husband's speech at this trial? It is quite short.

Q. Yes, certainly. Did he make it in the beginning of the trial? A. No. We went upstairs then. There were several soldiers standing around him armed to the teeth. The room was full of soldiers.

Q. Before what sort of a court was he tried? A. A court martial—soldiers.

Q. In uniform? A. Oh, yes. One of them was presiding.

Q. How many judges? A. Three judges—three soldiers.

Q. How long a time did the trial last? A. Three hours.

Q. Did he make a statement? A. Yes, he did. I will read you this. First of all, when they brought the charges against him, they asked him if he had anything to say. He said that if he were an ordinary individual as he had been before he was elected, he would not say anything at all. He would disregard the charges because he never recognized England's courts, which have no right to function in Ireland. But he said that because he was Lord Mayor of the city, he represented more than himself, and that was why he spoke. He said this more or less at the end of the charges.

Q. What was the charge against him? A. There were three charges, one of which was that when they arrested him when they raided the city hall, they found in his desk the text of a speech he had made when he was made Lord Mayor. Of course, this was made six months before, and it had been published in all the papers, and so if there was anything objectionable in it, they could have mentioned it sooner. As a matter of fact, he had a right to make any speech in Ireland that he liked.

Q. What were the other charges? A. He was charged with having the code used by the police.

Q. And yet he was the chief magistrate of the city? A. Yes. What he said was that he was the chief magistrate, and he had the right to have anything like that that he wanted. He said the English had no right to have such a code. He said it was illegal for any citizen of the Irish republic to have such a code without his permission.

Q. In the City of Cork? A. In the City of Cork, yes.

Q. There was a third charge? A. Yes, there was. It was a resolution that was passed by the corporation recognizing Dail Eireann and renouncing allegiance to England. It was passed by every popular body all over Ireland, and if they wanted to arrest everybody who had passed that, they simply could not do it, because the jails could not hold them.

Q. There was no other charge? A. That was all. Shall I read this (indicating paper)?

THE COMMISSION. Yes, please.

MAYOR MACSWINEY'S SPEECH AT THE TRIAL

THE WITNESS (reading). "We see in the manner in which the late Lord Mayor was murdered an attempt to terrify us all. Our first duty is to answer that threat in the only fitting manner: to show ourselves unterrified, cool, and inflexible for the fulfillment of our chief purpose—the establishment of the independence and the integrity of our country and the peace and happiness of the Irish Republic. To that end I am here. This contest on our side is not one of rivalry or vengeance, but of endurance."

I would like to say something about that. My husband, as I said before, was essentially charitable—a very charitable man. It was his chief characteristic. He hadn't anything like vengeance in him. And certainly he wished for nothing more than that the English would be gone out of our country and that we could be good friends with them then.

"It is not those who can inflict the most, but those who can suffer the most, who will conquer, though we do not abrogate our function to demand that murderers and evil-doers be punished for their crimes. It is conceivable that the army of occupation could stop our functioning for a time. Then it becomes simply a question of endurance. Those whose faith is strong will endure to the end in triumph."

Well, of course, my husband was one of the first in Ireland who started this movement, and a great many people were against it then—they did not believe that we could be free from England. In Dublin the Irish people were always better off than in Cork, for in Cork they had a very hard time in the beginning. So only for my husband's great faith in our country and his faith that they would win out, I don't suppose that we would be very far along today.

"God is over us, and in His divine intervention we must have

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perfect trust. Anyone surveying the events in Ireland in the past five years must see that it is approaching a miracle how our country has been preserved during a persecution unexampled in history, culminating in the murder of the head of our great city. You among us who have no vision have been led astray by false prophets. I will give a recent example. Only last week in our city a judge, acting for English usurpation in Ireland and speaking in the presumptuous manner of such people, ventured to lecture us and uttered this pagan sentiment: 'There is no beauty in liberty that comes to us in innocent blood.' At one stroke this judge would shatter the foundations of Christianity by denying beauty to that spiritual liberty that comes to us dripping in the blood of Christ crucified. He, by His voluntary sacrifice on Calvary, delivered us from the domination of the devil when the pall of evil was closing down and darkening the world. The liberty for which we strive today is a sacred thing, inseparably entwined with that spiritual liberty for which the Savior of man died and which is the foundation of all just government. Because it is sacred, and death for it is akin to the sacrifice on Calvary, following far off and but constant to that divine example, in every generation our best and bravest have died. Sometimes in our grief we cry out the foolish and unthinking words, 'The sacrifice is too great.' It is not we who take innocent blood, but we offer it, sustained by the example of our immortal dead and that divine example which inspires us all for the redemption of our country. Facing our enemy, we must declare out attitude simply. We see in their regime a thing of evil incarnate. With it there can be no parley any more than there can be truce with the powers of Hell. We ask no mercy and we will accept no compromise. The civilized world dare not look on indifferent while new tortures are being prepared for our country, or they will see undermined the pillars of their own Government and the world involved in unimaginable anarchy. But if the rulers of earth fail us, we still have refuge in the Ruler of Heaven, and though to some the judgments of God seem slow, they never fail, and when they fall they are overwhelming."

Q. MR. F. P. WALSH. Now that was the speech which your husband delivered as his inaugural speech on being made Lord Mayor of Cork? A. No. But I have that one here also.

Q. COMMISSIONER NORRIS. This is the speech that he delivered at his trial?

Q. MR. F. P. WALSH. This is the speech, is it not—if it is not, correct me,—that your husband made at his inaugural as Lord Mayor of Cork, and the document with which he was charged with having in his possession which they claimed to be seditious? A. That was practically the same. This was the speech that he made at his trial.

Q. Have you another one there? A. Yes. This was the speech he made when he was made Lord Mayor (indicating another paper).

Q. He delivered this speech at the trial? A. Yes, practically the same thing. I wish to say something else. You know this speech was one of the charges against him. Of course, one of the soldiers, the president of the court, read the speech, and even coming from him, it made a very great impression on everybody there. And even on the soldiers—no matter who they were—it impressed everybody. As I told you, I think I felt that day more myself than at any other time. Because now I felt that my husband was going to die. After that I was accustomed to it. The shock was more in the beginning for me. Of course, I was upset, although I did not mean to be. But when he spoke himself, he made me feel all right. You have heard, I suppose, of the message that he sent to the men of Cork, that when we are doing work for Ireland, it should be not in tears but in joy. And so I think that it is Ireland that has kept me up all through. That is the only thing. There has been nothing else.

Q. When was he removed from Cork? A. He was removed that night, or at four o'clock the next morning, I believe.

Q. COMMISSIONER NORRIS. What was the result of the trial? A. He was found guilty by the court martial.

Q. MR. F. P. WALSH. And sentenced to what? A. To two years. Of course, he told them then that it meant nothing what his sentence was, because in a month's time he would be free, either alive or dead. None of us dreamed that it would be a month. I certainly did not think it would be more than a fortnight at the outside, and I did not think it would be that much.

Q. You say that after you heard his speech you were reconciled? A. Of course, I was always reconciled, but after that I felt quite happy about his work.

Q. You say you went to London? A. Yes, but I was able to speak to him after the trial. I asked one of the officers going out where they were going to take him. Of course, he knew. He did not deny that he knew, but you know they are very petty. He would not tell me anything. My husband was taken off that night in the state he was in on a submarine. They were afraid to take him from Cork during the day. He was taken to Pembroke in the submarine, and arrived there about two o'clock in the afternoon, and he was kept waiting until about six o'clock. Of course, his sufferings were terrible coming over in a submarine. In an ordinary boat it would have been very different. He arrived in London about half-past two in the morning. They were afraid to take him there during the day. It was put in the London papers at first that he did arrive during the day. But that was a lie. And then he was taken to Brixton prison. My sister-in-law who is here went over first. My mother was not there, so she could not take the baby for me. Some people with whom I had been staying since Christmas, who were very kind to me, took it. I left on Saturday morning, and went straightway to see my husband.

Q. Where was he then? A. In Brixton prison. Before I saw him one of the doctors of the prison, Dr. Hixon, spoke to me. He was not the head doctor. Of course, he was an Englishman. He said to me, "You will see your husband in a few minutes, and will you not try to get him to take food?" He said he hoped I would see the foolishness of what he was doing. The greatest danger was not if he lost his life but if he was injured for life. And he said, of course, then any injury which he would receive from the hunger strike might harm our children. I told him that I understood the harm of going without food, and from a health point of view quite agreed with him, but that I did not interfere with my husband in anything, especially in a matter of conscience, and that each one was his own best judge in matters of conscience. He could not say very much to that.

THE HUNGER STRIKE

I saw my husband then. He was greatly changed. He looked very, very badly indeed. Then we used to see him every day. And after a bit, I think it was about a fortnight, the head doctor came back. He had been away. And, of course, he often asked me to ask my husband to take food. We never had anything like scenes, because I do not give people opportunity to do that, to have a fight or anything like scenes. We were always very civil to each other. But he thought it was utter foolishness for a man to refuse to eat when he always had food before him. Being an Englishman, he could not understand why a man should die for a principle. But the subordinate doctor, I must say, was more sympathetic. He never urged me to get my husband to take food after that one time.

Q. Did you see your husband every day? A. I saw him every day. After a bit he did not like to be there without some one of us. My brother-in-law came over, and his other sister afterwards. For, of course, we were afraid that he would die any moment. Nothing but his faith kept him alive. There is no doubt about that. So one of us would go in the morning, and another at noon, and another in the evening. This went on for some time. My husband was perfectly peaceful and happy. I do not think I could have gone on like that if I had not seen him every day, because he absolutely radiated peace. He told me in the beginning that one reason that he was glad to be

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doing what he was doing was that he had not taken a part in any of the dangerous things in Ireland, except the rebellion, and, of course, they did not fight in Cork; and he hated their being in danger when he was not in any. But what could he do? So he told me that he felt what he was doing was as dangerous as anything, and on account of that he was glad to do it. He always wished to die for his coutry. He never had any other thought. Things went on very much the same. We always saw him. After a bit they got two nurses for him, one for the day and the other for the night.

Then it came to the Wednesday before he died. There isn't very much to tell up to that. Well, the Wednesday before he died, the news had already come that one of the hunger strikers in Cork was dead. Of course, the doctors had promised us that they would not feed him and would not put any food in his medicine or anything of that kind, but they said that if he became unconscious that they would feed him. Of course, if a person becomes unconscious, they are unconscious, and they have no will of their own, and they could do anything they liked with him. And so feeding him when he was unconscious was like feeding him when he was dead. Of course, they did promise not to feed him at all, or to make any attempt to forcibly feed him,—it would have been forcible, as long as he was conscious. It was on Tuesday, the Tuesday before my husband died, the news came from Cork to London of the death of one of the hunger strikers there. Of course, he had gone a bit longer than my husband. This frightened the doctors in the prison. One of them went to my husband on his usual visit, and he turned everybody out of the room, including the nurse, which was not usual, for she always remained there. One of my sisters was there at the time. When she went back into the room my husband was frightfully upset, and he said that this doctor told him that he would make him eat. When I got there in the evening the other doctor, the second doctor, whom I do not think would have done a thing like that, was on duty. My sister-in-law said to him that Dr. Griffiths, the head doctor, had threatened to make my husband eat and had made him awfully uneasy that morning. When I went in my husband was quiet like usual, but looking very badly—worse than usual.

The next morning I was in the office of the Self-Determination League in London. The papers wished to get bulletins, and your American papers, too, wished to get bulletins on my husband's condition every two hours. We were allowed to use the prison telephone—they did not make any difficulty at all whatever about it. All the news was sent out from the office of the Self-Determination League; and, of course, if there was any news about my husband for us, we would get it there. I happened to be in there in the morning. My two brothers-in-law were in there too. I was told that a telephone message had come, and that they were afraid the news was bad. So I and my brothers-in-law went out to the prison with Mr. O'Brien, who is the president of the Self-Determination League. So we went out and when we got there we heard that my husband had become quite delirious. And we heard my husband shouting out, and we went in then, and he was sitting up in bed and shouting. It was the delirium, because before this he could not hardly move a finger, and he spoke only in a whisper. And he was sitting up in bed and crying quite strong and saying, "This nurse will not let me have my wife and sister." And we said, "Here we are," and he knew us perfectly well. That was the worst of it. And in other things he was as mad as could be. But one thing he said to me then when I came into the room I liked. He said, "Muriel, you have always stuck by me." And he was very bad then, and talked rubbish. He could not have been more mad than he was. I have seen mad people, and they were not worse. And then Dr. Hixon came up, stroked him and got him to lie down, but he went on throwing his arms about and talking. Finally the doctor gave him morphia, and then he got quieter, and in about an hour he was asleep.

I must tell you this occurrence. I wanted to do the best I could and wanted to try to make him better, and did not know what to do. I used to speak to him a little, and then the nurse said, "I think it is better not to speak to him because it disturbs him." And so from that time on I did not speak to him, thinking it might disturb him. In fact, I never spoke to him first because it was hard for him to respond. But if he spoke, I answered him back, because we did not want to cross him and offend him when he was ill. He would say to me, "This is awful for you because you have to stay here." And I said, "It is a better time than we have had since we were married or since you have been Lord Mayor, because I can be with you all the time." And then we laughed. Anyway, he got bad during the night. Of course, I was not there. All up to that time, although my husband had got terribly emaciated, his mind was perfectly clear and anybody could recognize him, because the face is the last thing that the hunger strike affects. But the next morning when I went in, I would not have known him at all. He was very quiet, and only moved his hands a little bit. That was Wednesday. Of course, they started feeding him when he was unconscious. And then the warden told me we were not to go into the room any more, any of us. I must say that after he got very bad the nurse used to turn us out very often. So they now said also that we were not even to stay outside the door as we used to, when we could not go in. And they also stopped up every little hole or window we could see through. The warden said we could not stay outside the door, and I said I wanted to speak to the doctor, and he went down and found him. And I asked him whether if he was dying if he would not want his wife to be near him. After a bit he gave in. Then I went upstairs. They were feeding him. They were giving him two teaspoonfuls of liquid food.

MAYOR MacSWINEY'S DEATH

Q. When did they begin that? A. Five days before his death. That was Wednesday, and he died the following Monday.

Q. COMMISSIONER WALSH. Did the newspapers of Great Britain announce that he was being fed? A. Yes, they did.

Q. There were announcements in the American press that his relatives were feeding him? A. Yes, that was British propaganda.

Q. MR. F. P. WALSH. As a matter of fact, did his relatives at any time put food before him? A. Never. His relatives never did that.

Q. Did the prison officials offer him food? A. Yes, always; it was always beside him.

Q. Did they bring him fresh food? A. Oh, yes, it was milk and broth and things like that. Food was always put before him. The next day was Saturday. My brother-in-law had been there with him through the night, and my sister-in-law was there to relieve him. I found her in the waiting room just inside the gate, and then she told me they had refused to let her into the prison at all. I went upstairs immediately, and it was about ten-thirty, and the nurse would not let me in. At about half-past twelve she let me in for half an hour, and then I was asked to go out. She made some excuse that she had to take his temperature. I expect she was feeding my husband. And then I was in again a half hour later. Then the head doctor, Dr. Griffiths, came in and asked the nurse to go out, and I went out too. So I had only about a half hour with my husband that day. As a matter of fact, it was the last day I saw him; but I think he may have half known me that day, because he smiled a little bit when I kissed him. I do not know, but I think he did.

There was another thing about my husband that I want to mention. I think the hardest thing on him was being separated from his little daughter. And I asked him if he would like to have her over, and he said, "O no, it would only be cruelty to have her over," and she would not recognize him if she saw him because he was so changed.

The next morning was the first time that I collapsed at all. I had kept up until then and really felt very well. But the next morning I felt ill and could not go, and went to bed again. And in the afternoon, since I was about the only person that

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was allowed in the room, Mr. O'Brien took me down in a taxi. I opened the door and the nurse was there, and she said, "Would you wait outside a few minutes?" I had not been there at all that day, and my brother-in-law had not been there. I must tell you that the day before I had not been allowed in to see him until half-past twelve, although I had come about ten. This day the nurse said, "Would you wait just a little while?" They had a habit then of having a warden just inside the door. And I opened the door again in about five minutes and asked if I could go in, and he said he would ask the nurse, and she said no, she was taking his temperature. And in about five minutes more, about twenty minutes from the time I came, I sent in word again if I could see him, and she said no, I could not. And so I did not see my husband again until after his death. The next day my brother-in-law was there and his chaplain, Father Donnolley, and they saw him. He was dead, and he looked like a perfect martyr.

The inquest was on Wednesday. I was in bed after he died. But they thought it was important for me to be at the inquest, and I went. I was addressed by the commandant, who asked me my address. I was puzzled, because we had no address. We could not have a home. And I said, "Cork." And he said, "Cork is a big place." But that was the best I could do. He asked me my husband's profession, and I said, "An officer of the Irish Republican Army." And he said that was no profession. Being English, he could not understand why a man should have a profession when he was not working for money. And I said, "You have an army, and you have officers." And then I think he understood, quite. Of course, I told him that my husband did not wish to die. And the specialist who had seen him, Sir Norman Moore, had told me so himself. I was glad that we had called him in to see my husband. I told him that as soon as my husband got out of jail that he would take food and get better. My husband was only on hunger strike, as you know, as a protest for being arrested illegally, arrested by the forces of England in Ireland. It was illegal for them to arrest the Lord Mayor, the chief magistrate of the city of Cork. It was entirely against the laws of the Irish Republic that they should do such a thing.

Q. COMMISSIONER WALSH. I would like to ask you what the spirit of the Irish women in Ireland is about the establishment of the Irish Republic. A. Just what mine is and what my husband's was. Of course, we all want our republic and we want England gone, and there will not be peace in the world until we get it.

Q. To what extent have the women organized and taken action? A. They have a society called the *Cumann na m'Ban*. That is a society of women like the Red Cross.

Q. Do you know anything about the present sufferings of the people, especially among the women and children in Ireland? A. Yes, indeed I do. One of the things the Black and Tans did was to prevent the people going into the shops and buying food. Also they are destroying creameries, and that means no milk distributed in the towns for the children. And, of course, there has always been a great deal of poverty in Ireland, as I told you; and they are making things a hundred times worse.

Q. Is it your opinion that relief is needed in Ireland? A. It is absolutely essential or all the people will die.

Q. To what extent was the policy of starvation being carried out when you left Ireland? A. Well, I left Ireland three months ago, you see, and it is since then that all that has come in force. I was ill, of course, and did not go back for my husband's funeral, but my sister-in-law did, and she can tell you.

Q. You did not go to your husband's funeral? A. No, I was ill. My sister-in-law was there. I was only in Ireland for a few days before I came on. The day I was there they shot into a football match and killed several people.

Q. Were you there at the game? A. No. But then in Cork it was very much the same. They threw a bomb into a crowd and killed four people. One young man whom I knew, they took both his legs off, and he did not die until the next day. And, of course, ever so many people were injured. But even before I left for England there were motor lorries and armored cars going through the streets so close that often one could scarcely pass between them. One day while I was on the tram they fired. Nobody in the tram was hurt, but we all saw them fire. And these lorries full of soldiers have terrorized the countryside. There was a Mrs. Quinn, a younger woman than I am. She was sitting on a lonely country road, as I often did when I was in the country with the baby. She was sitting by the road with one baby, and was going to have another soon. And the Black and Tans came along the road in a lorry and shot her.

Q. Had she committed any offense? A. Oh, no, none whatever. To prove that there was no one with her, it was some time before a priest came. It was a very out of the way place. I felt that that case might have been mine.

Q. Some one has related that the women of Ireland have steeled themselves to such an extent that weeping is unknown among them. A. Well, I never cry.

Q. Is that the general feeling—that they must steel themselves for any emergency? A. Yes, it is. Weeping is almost unknown. But there is just one thing: you know I did not go back to my own country except for two or three days, but I never cried all through, not even at the end. But since I have been here I feel that there is so much sympathy—I am not speaking of sympathy in letters and what people say to me, but it is what I feel from everyone. But that sympathy has almost made me cry here, and it did yesterday, and I felt that I might not be able to go through this hearing today.

Q. Did your husband ever say what he felt his sacrifice would do for Ireland? A. He hoped that it would strengthen them still further in their struggle for independence.

Q. That was one of his considerations? A. That was, of course, the main consideration of his life. He never thought of anything else.

Q. Where is your baby now? A. In Cork.

Q. Is she well? A. Very well. Would you like to see her photo? I've just got it from home.

THE COMMISSION. Very, very much.

Q. COMMISSIONER THOMAS. Your husband's hunger strike lasted seventy-four days? A. Yes.

Q. You saw your husband the last time how many days before his death? A. I saw him on Saturday. I was not allowed in at all on Sunday. And he died on Monday.

Q. On Monday? A. I was not called at all when he died. He died at six, and I did not hear about it until eight o'clock.

Q. Did the doctor persist in feeding him when he was unconscious until the very end? A. Oh, yes, and I think that that really killed him. It was terrible to see him when he was more helpless than our baby was when she was born.

Q. That feeding continued from Wednesday, then, until Monday? A. Oh, yes. And I know that he was in pain, because I could see it on his face. Another time when I saw him in great pain was on the tenth day. He said to me that it was not so that people never desired food after the tenth day. He suffered right to the end.

Q. He wanted food right to the end? A. Yes, indeed. I hope you will all help us win our republic, because that was what my husband lived and died for. And we look on you in America very much as our own people, because you have been all so very kind to us. I looked upon this hearing as an ordeal, but it has not been at all. So I hope you will all do what you can for us. Also in the relief which I think has been started for Ireland. But, of course, the chief thing is for Ireland to get her freedom.

Q. COMMISSIONER WALSH. Do you think the relief work is the greatest thing that can be done for the Irish people? A. Yes, I do; but I think recognizing our Republic is the more immediate. The people who have suffered and are suffering most from hunger would choose that, too. It is the most immediate.

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The Testimony of Miss Mary MacSwiney

CHAIRMAN HOWE. Miss MacSwiney, you realize that is not a regular legal hearing—not a legal procedure, and you are not subject to cross examination, except that the members of the Commission want to examine you to get at the facts and find out about conditions in Ireland. We want you to tell your story in a way that is easy and natural to you, and we would like to have you tell it loud enough so that as many of the people here as possible can hear it.

Q. MR. F. P. WALSH. Your name is Miss Mary MacSwiney? A. Yes, sir.

Q. Where do you reside, Miss MacSwiney? A. In Cork, Cork City.

Q. I believe you stated that there was something you wanted to say to the Commission? A. I felt that I wanted, before I started my evidence this morning, to thank the Commission and the American people first, for the kindly reception we got, and to thank the Commission in its endeavor to help Ireland by getting at the truth. I think the best evidence that this Commission is impartial is that when I left Ireland I got the impression from some Americans that were there in the summer that this Commission was one especially arranged by friends of England to try to whitewash her in the papers, and to do it not only in England's interests but in the interests of an Anglo-American alliance. I find also that our enemies took it also that you are a Sinn Fein sympathizing Commission. And since we thought you were pro-British, and they thought you were pro-Irish, you must therefore be impartial. I should also like to express my appreciation of the fact that the Commission has been trying to carry out one of the purposes for which America entered the war, and which I think we all agree was not quite effected by the war, and that is to make the world safe for democracy. As far as my evidence is concerned, I should like to give whatever evidence I have to the Commission.

Q. Now, begin at the point that you thought would be significant, and as far as you can, go ahead with your own story. I will ask you a few questions to begin with. You are the sister of the late Lord Mayor of Cork? A. Yes, sir.

Q. And the names of your parents? A. John Terence MacSwiney was my father's name. He was a native of County Cork, where my family have resided since the fourteenth century. And my mother was named Mary Wilson. She was born and brought up in England, but of her four grandparents, three were Irish.

Q. How many brothers and sisters have you? A. Originally a family of nine, five boys and four girls.

Q. And how many are living now? A. Six since my brother died.

Q. Have the family always lived in Cork? A. My father went to England after the Fenian times, when things were very hard in Ireland, and took up a position there, and married my mother there, and I was born there.

Q. In London? A. In London. And we came back to Ireland when I was five. The family have lived there ever since. Some have gone away for short periods. I was in college in England and was teaching in England for awhile.

Q. Who are your brothers who are still living? A. My eldest brother is Peter. He is an American citizen. He came to this country in 1908 and was naturalized here, and lived in New York. My youngest brother, John, was in Canada when the war broke out, and he had a very bad time there because he would not join the British army to fight for small nations. He was sentenced to two years imprisonment, and might even have been sentenced to death; and he was about to be transported forcibly to fight in the British army, but some of his friends got a writ of habeas corpus, owing to the fact that under Canadian law they were not entitled to send him across seas; and while that matter was under the jurisdiction of the courts, the armistice was signed.

Q. Where do your sisters reside? A. Two of my sisters are nuns. One is in Asheville, North Carolina. She has been in America since 1910. Another sister is in Japan. My third and youngest sister is at home.

Q. What has your life been? A. A teacher.

Q. How long have you been a teacher? A. Since 1901.

Q. You suggested, Miss MacSwiney, that in order to give a proper background for other features, and what has transpired recently, you might briefly sketch the republican movement, especially as it has touched your family and your case, and as you had observation of it? A. I suppose the background of most Irish families like ours is that of Ireland. I would like to emphasize that the present republican movement is not a new thing. It is a continuous fight that has been going on for Irish freedom ever since the English conquered our country. In Henry Eighth's time they held a very small portion of the country. He was the first to take the title of King of Ireland, but he was really king of only a couple of counties. By degrees they spread over Ireland, and finally dominated the whole of it. But from the time that they dominated the country, there never has been one generation when a fight for independence, an open fight, has not taken place. There has always been an open current of hostility to English government in Ireland, and the Irish people have never once in all the course of their history accepted the British government in Ireland.

Q. Coming down through the Home Rule movement, with which I believe you are familiar, is there a connection between this Home Rule movement and the struggles that have gone on all the time against English domination over your country? A. Distinctly I should say. Suppose I begin with 1798. I will not take very long. In 1798 there was an outbreak. They call it the Irish Rebellion. I should like to emphasize for the American people that the definition of a rebellion is an uprising against lawfully constituted authority. Consequently, there never has been a rebellion in Ireland. There was a revolt. But you cannot have a rebellion unless you are rising against lawfully constituted authority. And England's authority in Ireland was never lawfully constituted—it was an usurpation maintained by the sword. Consequently, in 1798 there was an Irish revolt, in which Wolfe Tone, Lord Edward Fitzgerald, and many other famous men, with whose names we are not familiar, tried to secure Ireland's freedom. It was distinctly a republican movement. Wolfe Tone declared for Irish independence. And it was a revolt all the leaders of which were without exception Protestants. I should like to emphasize that, because some of your people have the idea that the Irish difficulty is a religious difficulty. There is no religious difficulty in Ireland of serious importance. It is entirely a movement for political freedom. I might say that many of the leaders in the republican movement have been Protestants, not only Wolfe Tone and Lord Edward Fitzgerald, but men like Thomas Davis, the Emmetts, John Mitchell, MacCracken, and Parnell—for we do reverence Parnell, because he put up a good fight in his day. And many of the leaders of the present movement are Protestants. Well, that revolt was crushed, and then there was a period from 1817 to 1847 when you had a lot of little petty wars in Ireland.

Q. COMMISSIONER NORRIS. Miss MacSwiney, may I interrupt you there? Were all those persons you named Protestants? A. Every one of them, sir, and many more of them. During that period, the first half of the nineteenth century, the Tithe Wars and the wars against an oppressive landlord system were constantly going on. They were what you might call little sectional wars. The Tithe War was national. It meant that the Irish Catholic population were protesting against having to support non-Catholic clergymen. As an instance I can tell you of a clergyman, the county cleric, who got a salary of one thousand pounds a year. That would be, I suppose, about five thousand dollars; and he never entered Ireland from one year's end to another. He lived in England and spent his money there, —money paid from Irish taxes.

Q. That was the struggle against what was called the Irish Church? A. Yes. And it finally ended in the disestablishment of the Church in 1866. But it was not by the uprising that

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they later disestablished the Church. Meantime we had a repeal movement, which was a constitutional movement. And we had the republican movement of 1840, following the famine. It was what was technically known as a famine, but it was not a famine at all. It was a starvation policy enforced by England.

Q. During that time was there plenty of food in Ireland? A. Quite. There was food—corn and meat to the value of fifteen million pounds a week sent out of Ireland. And if Ireland really had a government of its own and there was a scarcity of food, the first thing that government should do would be to close the ports and prevent the shipping of food. But England put her armed soldiers at the ports to keep them open, and food to the value of fifteen million pounds a week went out of Ireland—that would be nearly $60,000,000 a week went out of Ireland, while over a million people died of famine.

Q. MR. F. P. WALSH. That was not a famine. That was starvation. A. There is starvation in Ireland today.

Q. Now to bring it down to date. A. The movement of 1840 was entirely a republican movement. And surely one sees the extraordinary vitality of Ireland when a famine that destroyed one and one-quarter million people did not subjugate them. In a year and a quarter after that they were in arms again. Again in 1867 the Fenian movement sprang up, and that movement was suppressed after a time. Many of the Fenians fled to America and lived here for many years; and the last of them still living lives now in New York. I'm sure that many of those listening to me have heard of John Devoy as the last man connecting the present generation with the other.

Q. CHAIRMAN HOWE. How did the Fenian movement differ from the others? A. Not at all. It differed only in that it was a secret movement. They had a secret oath.

Q. COMMISSIONER WALSH. Did it have religious aspects? A. Yes. On the ground that it was a secret society with a secret oath, many of the bishops condemned it, and that frightened many of the people away.

IRISH LEADERS:—BUTTS AND PARNELL

Q. There never was any difference or division along religious lines? A. Never. Never. Insomuch as it was more a movement of the proletariat it was more Catholic than the '98 movement was, because the proletariat were always more Catholic. And for that reason it was more largely Catholic, even among the leaders, than the '98 movement, because there was hardly a single Catholic leader in the '98 movement.

Q. What various Irish national movements developed afterwards, if any, that could not be said to be strictly along constitutional lines, beginning with Sir Isaac Butts' constitutional movement? A. Sir Isaac Butts was a Protestant, but we would call him a very strong imperialist. But he did believe in home rule for Ireland, and started a home rule movement, which was a very milk-and-water affair indeed. Then Parnell came along. Parnell was a Protestant, as Butts was, but Parnell took up the movement for freedom and liberty from the Irish point of view, while Butts took it up from the standpoint of convenience for the British Empire. I think Americans understand that point of view. Butts did not want the Empire weakened. Parnell was different. He thought the Irish question was really and truly dominant, and that Ireland had a right to have a voice in its settlement. Parnell met the Fenian leaders, many of them, and asked their permission practically to try a constitutional movement in Westminster. In 1829 Daniel O'Connell had obtained the right to have Catholics represented in Parliament. And Parnell said it would be better to use this right and see what could be done in Westminster.

Q. Was it generally known that Parnell, as far as his effort for complete liberty was concerned, did work in harmony with the Irish Republican brotherhood? A. Absolutely. He made a definite agreement with them to stand aside for a time and see how his scheme would work. And he gave them a definite promise that if after a certain period they felt that they were obtaining no good by staying at Westminster, he would go back to Ireland and work there. That was a definite promise by Parnell to the Fenians. Before he started his movement at Westminster he made that promise.

Q. MR. F. P. WALSH. Did the Irish people ever notice anything in the statements of Parnell publicly, or in the statements he made in the House of Commons, that would indicate that he was willing to place any positive inhibition on or suppress efforts at complete independence? A. No. The people were quite confident that Parnell meant absolute independence in the end, and that Home Rule was only a stepping stone. And Parnell himself said over and over again that no man, when he got Home Rule, would not want anything more. He was asked over and over again to give that promise, and he refused to give it. He said: "No man can put bounds to the onward march of a nation." Those words of his are historic, and that was his answer to England asking him to give a guarantee that if Ireland got Home Rule, she would not want anything more.

Q. Was there any change at all in the Parnell policy? A. No, Parnell never did change it. Parnell carried on that fight by means of obstruction. You can see that there was no chance to go on with obstruction forever. At that time there was no limit to the length of the speech a man could make in the House of Parliament. So Parnell said, "Very well, if you will not pass any Irish legislation, you will not pass any English legislation either." And then the whole eighty of them began to talk and they did not pass any English legislation. Then they brought in the Closure Bill, by which the Speaker could stop debate on a bill at the end of the day's session. Parnell was a very much hated man. He adopted a policy that his followers could not join in English social life or join English social groups in order to keep themselves absolutely uncontaminated by English influence—which was a very wise decision. Then they tried to put temptation in Parnell's way and Parnell fell. I only want to say one thing about that: after the judgment was given against Parnell, there was a meeting of the Irish party in Room Fifteen, and they discussed in the meeting all night long as to whether they should ask Mr. Parnell to resign. They decided that they would not; that the man's private life was his own affair, and that he was doing the duty that he undertook to do for Ireland; and therefore they elected him leader. The plan was a disappointment to the Unionists, because they thought the Irish leaders would be so terrified of what people might say in Ireland that they would dismiss Parnell. Then Mr. Gladstone, who posed as a friend of Ireland—and I believe was good enough in his own way, but in regard to Ireland it was a matter of territorial dominion and sovereignty—Mr. Gladstone put on a virtuous air and said he could not have any alliance with a man of Parnell's character. That frightened the Irish members very much, because they counted on the Liberal alliance. And Parnell said to them: "I do not care very much as far as I am concerned, but I warn you that if you allow yourself to take English dictation now, you ruin your work through all these years." But after an all night discussion and debate he was asked to resign. That caused what was known as the Parnell split. He said that if they had asked him to resign at the first meeting, he would have resigned at once; but he would not resign because of a charge given them by an English statesman. And of course he was right.

Eventually Mr. Redmond became head of the Irish party. Mr. Redmond as a young man was, according to his words and public expressions, as ardent an Irishman as my brother. But he did not keep up Parnell's policy of remaining uncontaminated by English society; and gradually he seems to have been hypnotized by the imperial idea, and he began to speak with two voices. When Mr. Redmond came over to Ireland he spoke with a fairly strong voice. When speaking in England he spoke with a very weak voice. He said at the latter end of his life words amounting to this: "I only ask you for Home Rule. We would not dream of asking you for anything that would injure you in any way whatever. And anything endangering English freedom or the British Empire we will not ask you for. And therefore we

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will not even ask you for our customs and excises." When Mr. Redmond said that he did not speak for the Irish people. He spoke for himself and for a very small number of people whom we in Ireland called West Britons—that is, those who ought to be Irish but are very anxious to remain English. The Irish nation never agreed with Mr. Redmond. Never once in any speech he made in Ireland did he dare to say anything like that. The Irish people's attitude always was: if our independence is going to hurt the British Empire, so much the worse for the British Empire. They have no right to want anything that is inconsistent with the rights of another nation. The people began to get very angry with the Nationalist party, and then a movement started which was called the constitutional movement.

THE IRISH EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM

Q. MR. F. P. WALSH. Miss MacSwiney, do you not think that this would be a good way to come at this republican movement, to trace your own movements in Ireland. You were a teacher at this time, I believe? A. Yes, I have been a teacher since 1901, when I left college.

Q. And you might state to the Commission briefly the general plans of the educational system in Ireland. Are you a teacher in what is known as the public school? Give, if you will, please, the different lines on which the educational system is founded. A. Our educational system differs greatly from yours. I may not have yours very correctly, but what I understand by public schools in America are those financed by the state, to which all people of all classes can go free of charge; and that in addition you have in America a good many private schools, and that these are mainly for rich people, who prefer to have their children educated separately, and that they are of a different kind, and will, perhaps, give a different kind of education. Is that not so?

MR. F. P. WALSH. That is quite broad.

THE WITNESS. Well, in England what you call public schools they call board schools. Their national schools are schools run by the Church of England, and all other denominations as well as the Church of England can have their private schools, which can get their grant from the state; not as good a grant as the board schools get, but a grant, provided they confine the teaching of religion to certain hours of the day.

Q. On what conditions can the schools get the government grant? Is it based on examinations, or what? A. Now it is not any longer. It is on inspection.

Q. But prior to the war? A. It is on inspection, and has been for some time. In Ireland we have what is called the National Education Act, which is the most unnational thing you can imagine. The National Education Act was passed in 1831. The object was to allow people of all classes to attend schools. It was the very first time that Catholics were allowed to be educated. There was another Act passed in 1820 that allowed them to have a certain amount of education. But education for the common people only began by this act of 1831. Previously they got what education they could get. We had in Ireland what we called hedge schools, because the master sat under a hedge. He taught his pupils in the open air because he had no schoolhouse. The National Education Act passed in 1831 was passed with the express purpose, definitely expressed, of denationalizing Ireland and Anglicizing it. You know the verses that begin,

> "Breathes there a man with soul so dead
> Who never to himself has said,
> 'This is my own, my native land';
> Whose heart hath ne'er within him burned
> As home his footsteps he has turned
> From wandering on a foreign strand."

And it goes on to say that if there is such a man, he should go down to the vile depths from which he sprung, unwept, unhonored, and unsung. And when Archbishop Whately, the Protestant Bishop of Dublin, got together a number of clerks and secretaries and got them to help him compile books for the new national schools, he found among one of the books, in revising them, this extract. It was to go into one of the books for the national schools. Of course that would never do, even if it was copied from the best English school books. The secretary who put that in lost his job. Archbishop Whately said, "What a stupid thing it was to put that into the books, when what we want is to make these Irish children forget they have a land." And he substituted for it a rhyme which began:

> "I thank the goodness and the grace
> That on my parents smiled,
> And made me in these blessed days
> A happy English child."

We call this blasphemy. We do not thank God for a lie.

I have told you that little story to give you the whole tone of the education in those so-called national schools. It was absolutely forbidden to speak a word of Irish within the walls of the school, and that, mind, to children who could speak nothing else, because in those days Ireland was all Gaelic-speaking. And the children were whipped in school if they did not make haste and pick up English. In addition to that, no word of Irish history was allowed to be taught in those schools. And in a whole series of school books appointed for those schools all over the country, Ireland was mentioned twice in the whole list of books. On one occasion the Irish children were told that Ireland was an island lying to the west of Great Britain; and in the other place they were told that Ireland had been visited on a certain date by her gracious majesty, Queen Victoria. And that is the education the Irish children growing up in the middle of the nineteenth century got.

You might ask me, Why did the Irish people accept it? The bishops of that time, with the exception of one glorious example, accepted it because they had no chance to get at their children to teach them, and they said, It is better for us to teach them their religion anyhow; and since we have the opportunity of teaching religion for the first time without hindrance, let us accept this Education Act with all its great drawbacks. The one glorious bishop who stood out against it was MacHale of Tuam. He said, "That Education Bill, as it stands, is an evil. If you accept it, you are doing no good to religion and you are ruining nationality." And as long as he lived, which he did for about fifty years after this act was passed, he refused to allow a single national school in his diocese. Unfortunately, he did not live long enough. But that is the sort of education our children are getting. But our children—if you will let me use the word—of the better class people (I hate to use it because I am a thorough democrat, but I will use it here)—these children attend private schools. The better-off people send their children to school in England, and naturally they came back very English. In 1869 the Irish Church was disestablished, and there was a great deal of money left over. And there was one and a quarter million of that—

Q. One million pounds or one million dollars? A. Oh, pounds—about five million dollars that would be.

MR. F. P. WALSH. Not at the present rate of exchange.

THE WITNESS. But will you allow me to use pounds, because it is difficult for me to think in terms of dollars? Well, a great deal of money was devoted to education, secondary education, education for those who could afford to stay in school up to eighteen. The national schools only prepared up to fourteen. For those who could afford to go on to the university these secondary schools were endowed from the money left from disestablishing the Irish Church. The system of education was that the Board laid down a certain program. Any school of any denomination could teach that program, and might enroll themselves as an intermediate school provided they had seven pupils. They got a grant, after their pupils could pass this examination, which was divided into various grades. In the beginning they did very well, because there were not very many children, and there was no system of crams. But as the number of children increased and the money did not increase, of course the tendency was that the prizes and the grant had to be divided up among

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a great number of people, and got so small it could not finance education. A little more money was given; and I would like to point out to you here where this money came from. A certain proportion of the whiskey tax was devoted to education. The result was this: if our people were sober, there was very little money for education. If they got drunk, there might be a little more. But the total sum devoted to education in Ireland was about forty-five thousand pounds a year. That education was a cram system. There were certain books laid down. A lot depended upon the teacher. But nearly all the teachers in Ireland at the present day were brought up on that system—certain books laid down from which they had to study. For a long time Irish—the Gaelic language—was not allowed at all. Irish history was not allowed. I may as well tell you, incidentally, that when I was going to school in my own native city of Cork, I never learned one line of Irish history. It was only about two years before I left school and the history class that Irish history was allowed, with much fear and trembling, to be taught. And then it was not Irish history, but it was the history of Engl nd in Ireland. That was what was called Irish history. But some of us did not confine ourselves to that. We learned a little more. How much you learned depended upon what sort of a family you came from—what England would call a rebellious strain. Therefore the majority of the people, who were in the hard struggle for existence, knew nothing about Irish history. And that has given England a chance to say the Irish people do not want independence. The Irish want independence, but because of their bad education they cannot express their desires.

Another thing I would like you to know about education in the secondary schools is that, first in the national schools, there was one set of people in Ireland that were not there in Archbishop MacHale's time. They refused to go under the Board of National Education. They were the Christian Brothers. The Christian Brothers refused it because you had to confine religious education in schools to one half hour a day, and you had to use books appointed by the national board, and those books omitted all mention of Irish history, about Irish heroes, or a single word about a martyr or a saint whatever. And the Christian Brothers would not have that system, and they adopted books of their own, which are very fine books. And perhaps the fact that the men of Ireland are better educated and know more about the history of their land than the women do is that the men have been educated by the Christian Brothers and the women have been educated in the national schools.

COMMISSIONER ADDAMS. But there is one exception.

THE WITNESS. Oh, Miss Addams, there are many exceptions. But I am talking about what the Government gave us and not what we gave ourselves.

About the secondary schools: the Anglicizing influence of the secondary schools was much greater than the Anglicizing influence of the national schools, because it was fashionable to ape England. And there was a certain class of people in Ireland who were the outcome of this system of education. I think they probably would be much worse in any other country than our own. But they were ashamed to be Irish. They all of them finished their education in England, and they were so happy if by any chance they were mistaken for Englishmen. That type of man is hopeless in a country. And you have no idea how hard we had to fight to kill this influence, but thank God it is dead. The influence of all the secondary schools in Ireland was that it was fashionable to be English. And when the Sinn Fein movement started in 1905, you might be quite sure of this, that the meaning of it was neither understood nor appreciated in the schools—the upper class schools, the fashionable schools of Ireland. The system in those schools was English. It was an Anglicizing influence entirely. I am sorry to say that it was largely carried on by religious denominations, by the nuns, who were afraid. They were very timid, and were afraid to be anything except conventional. They are different now, of course. They followed suit when the times have become Republican. And even then there were many bold exceptions.

SINN FEIN:—A POLICY

I will have to digress from the educational question to explain Sinn Fein. Sinn Fein with us today means practically the policy —what Ireland is today. I have seen in American papers, for instance, "the Sinn Fein," as if Sinn Fein was a noun. Now, Sinn Fein is a policy, as you have the Democratic policy and the Republican policy.

COMMISSIONER MAURER. We do not have it now. We used to have it.

THE WITNESS. As we used to have West Britons in Ireland? Well, I do not know enough about your policies to know if they are a good thing or a bad thing, but if you Americans want it that is your business. Now, Sinn Fein is a policy, but the Irish Republic is a country. Suppose, for instance, I asked you what nationality you were, and you told me you were Democratic. I am quite sure that your countrymen, your fellow-citizens, would resent that very much. We do not call ourselves Sinn Feiners. We call ourselves Irish Republicans, just as you call yourselves Americans. We may have a Sinn Fein policy, or some other kind of policy, within our own country. I will tell you where the confusion comes. When Parnell and Redmond had failed to secure even a measure of freedom for Ireland, Arthur Griffiths, who was founder of the Sinn Fein policy and vice-president of our Republic today, took a wide policy. He wanted a reversion to the Grattan Parliament of 1782, with proper republican franchise and an executive which would be subject to Parliament. Grattan's Parliament, while it did a great deal of good, had none of these. It had a strictly confined franchise, and the executive was under the control of England. He said, "We are to reach this goal by a policy of self-development." And he took the name Sinn Fein, which simply is the Irish word for "ourselves." And he took it as a policy of self-reliance. Up to that time we had been working at Westminster for a very long time to see what we could get out of Westminster. We also had our eyes on America to see if there would be anything good coming from that quarter. During 1798, when we were at open war with England, we looked to the French for help. But Griffiths said, "There is no good casting your eyes to the ends of the earth. Only the fools' eyes are there. We can do a good deal more at home. We can develop our industries. We can study the Irish language." The Gaelic Club had started shortly before that. He made the main plank in his policy abstention from Westminster.

That was the policy of Sinn Fein. The reversion to Grattan's Parliament meant a separate Parliament for Ireland. He took Parnell's view that you cannot put bounds to the onward march of a nation. But although he wanted a different parliament, there would be the same king over both countries. That was the original policy of Sinn Fein. The name has stuck to what has become the policy of the Irish people all along—utter and entire independence. Certain of us in Ireland have never joined Sinn Fein. My brother was never a member of any Sinn Fein club, simply because it was not expressly republican. It was implied. But he took the attitude that the mere expression of the statement that we are aiming at a republic is a compromise. And we stand where Wolfe Tone stood. So he said, "We will not join Sinn Fein." But he helped it, especially the policy of the development of Irish industry. He worked for the policy of Sinn Fein without ever declaring himself a Sinn Feiner.

Q. I think it might be well to develop your statement along that line, by a statement of your brother's activities. A. I am afraid I would be too long.

MR. F. P. WALSH. I might say to the Commission that riding over on the train with Miss MacSwiney, I found she knows so much more about this than any of us. She asked me to make suggestions from time to time that might keep the narrative in order and get everything in. I just made that suggestion. Of course, if it does not fit there, Miss MacSwiney should go on.

THE WITNESS. The only reason I hesitated was that the Com-

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mission might sit for a whole week and ask me questions and yet not get to the end of the story. I am at your disposal as long as you like. In regard to my brother's activities.

THE HISTORY OF A PATRIOTIC FAMILY

Perhaps it would be interesting at this point to say that we have always been Republican. Not only all our lives, but all our generations. We came down from the north of Ireland, where our family originally came from in the thirteenth century, and we settled in County Cork in the fourteenth century. And I think there are very few generations or fights since when we have not given some sort of account of ourselves. Writing in the days of Elizabeth, a certain one of her ministers, Sir Henry Baginelle, said of Ireland—he wanted at that time to capture the young Red Hugh O'Donnell, the chieftain of the north, and he was very exercised because the leader of the MacSwiney tribe of that day was the guardian and foster-father of young Red Hugh. In those days in Ireland there was the practice of fosterage. It meant that the sons of the chief of one family were sent to the chiefs of other tribes to be educated. And young Red Hugh O'Donnell had been sent to MacSwiney of the Battle Axes to be educated because he was the greatest chieftain of the North. The MacSwineys were always a great military power there. So Sir Henry Baginelle, writing to Queen Elizabeth, said, "Your Majesty, if I could only manage to get rid of this MacSwiney, I would be able to capture Red Hugh. I think I have a plan." He had a plan. He succeeded in capturing him by duplicity. It is not necessary to tell you that story.

Besides being great military chieftains, the MacSwineys had great characters even in those days. I hope you will not think me blowing my trumpet, but since it is a great many generations back, it will not make any difference. They had a characteristic even in those days of being honest, and an honest person is at a disadvantage in dealing with rogues, because they give the others credit for being honest, too. So this MacSwiney, being honest, went aboard an apparently harmless merchant ship that came to port. He went on board to pay a friendly, courteous visit to the captain. While they were in the cabin on this friendly, courteous visit, the hatches were closed down on them, the anchors loosened, and they were taken prisoners to Dublin, which was about the only place Queen Elizabeth had for herself in Ireland. That was the history of the MacSwineys of those days. The family eventually came south and settled in County Cork, and there is hardly a place in the whole barony of Muskerry, as they called that country in those days, where our family had not built castles. There are still ruins all around County Cork belonging to them. In Cromwell's time we went the way of all the Irish chieftains. Cromwell took the land and gave it to one of his troopers named Sweet. And the Sweets held that land, and some of this family hold it still. They are the late gentry. All the Irish chieftains, when they were dispossessed of their land, hated to go away. They preferred to work as laborers on the meanest little farm than to leave Ireland and their native soil. There is an extraordinary attachment to the very sod of the earth in an Irish heart. These people did not leave the county. They took service as laborers, and as they could, small farmers when it got possible to buy a farm, and stayed there. There actually is at this present day a direct descendant of the MacSwineys living on a farm on the grounds where is the ruins of his ancestral castle. He is also Terence MacSwiney.

Just before the famine period our family moved to Bandon. My grandmother was married twice. They were there during the period of the famine. My grandmother used to tell me very many stories when I was a child. I am using the word famine because it is so familiar to say it like that, but I want to emphasize it once more that it was not a famine, in a country where the fields were growing beautiful rich corn and there was meat and butter. There is no famine in that country. It was organized starvation. When my father was growing up they removed to the City of Cork. Of course, you can understand the want of employment there is in an undeveloped country. Some of you have been in our country and you must have noticed how undeveloped it is—no factories; even the very fields undeveloped. The cause of that is not laziness, as you have been often told. It is a fact that we have not been allowed to develop our country. So my father went to England and worked there for a while, and there got married. He returned to Ireland somewhere about 1880 or 1881, I am not sure of the dates. He joined his brother-in-law in a partnership as a tobacco manufacturer. The partnership did not turn out very successfully, and he started afterwards himself, but again he did not succeed very well. Matters were against him, and so the business was closed. My father died when we were children. He died away from home, where he had to go for his health, and my brother Terence was only about eight when he saw his father for the last time.

My brother went to school to the Christian Brothers, but he was not satisfied with it. It was not national, as has been stated; but it was so far ahead of the others that we gave them credit for having the only Irish school in Ireland. He went into the exhibitions and got a money prize in each class. He left school when he was about sixteen and went into business. In normal times and in less strenuous conditions, as far as money went, he would have remained at school and entered a college course and would have become a writer or a poet. But he had to leave school because the family was not well off. The MacSwineys have always been that. And so he had to leave school and enter business. He did not like business. And he educated himself and became a Bachelor of Arts. Not only that, but he did a great deal of writing besides. He wrote poems. In looking through his papers after his death I came across the letter that I myself wrote him congratulating him on the first poem that was published over his name. He himself became very interested in national things. There is a society in Cork called the Gaelic Literary Society. I think he must have been about seventeen when he was one of the founders of that. It was a body of young men animated by the republican ideal. They used to meet together after business hours, and they would read and write essays, and bring out a little magazine that would circulate among a certain crowd. And that Gaelic Literary Society did develop other national activities. The thing that stands most to its credit is the Irish Industrial Development Association, which is one of the things they started. I told you that he never joined Arthur Griffiths's Sinn Fein Society because it was not primarily for republican independence, but he worked along that line, and with one or two others was responsible for the founding of the Irish Industrial Development Association.

MR. F. P. WALSH. You might sketch that.

THE WITNESS. It was really a society that was non-political. They did not talk any division of politics, and it was absolutely non-sectarian, and formed for the especial purpose of developing Irish industries—to make the people of Ireland who had been avoiding Irish goods without any thought to buy Irish goods wherever they could get them. They started industries. It spread from Cork to Dublin, and naturally Dublin, being the capital, became the center. But Cork has the honor of starting it. Mr. Fawcett, who is now the Consul General of the Irish Republic here, was secretary in Cork for many years. He was considered the best man to send over here for that reason. The fact that we have a consul here today, and have a consul in almost every European country, entirely against the wishes of Great Britain, is entirely due to my brother and his comrades who started this society in Cork in 1901—I think. It might be a year one way or another. That was one of his activities. Another was the Gaelic League. This was a society, also non-sectarian and non-political, for the purpose of developing the Irish language and making the people Irish-speaking again. The soul of a people is expressed in its language. If you speak a foreign language continuously, you will naturally develop the soul of that language within you. And the great Anglicizing power that England had over Ireland was in that she had

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almost killed the Irish language. She was very clever in her propaganda. It is a great mistake to think that England is not a clever nation. She is very clever and very insidious in her propaganda. She never said to the people outright, you shall not speak Irish. But she took the children and educated it out of them. There is a little verse about the truth coming out in spite of oneself, like the story I told you of Archbishop Whately and the verse of Sir Walter Scott. When Lloyd George said the other day, when Irish atrocities were mentioned in the House of Commons, that those things will happen in a state of war, he thereby admitted that there was a state of war in Ireland. And so you get the truth out like that occasionally in a moment of high pressure.

About the Gaelic League. We wanted to renationalize the minds of the people, and that could best be done by the Gaelic language. And so classes all over the country started up for the teaching of Gaelic. Old man and young men who know the Gaelic language well, wherever they could be found, were brought into the cities and set to work as teachers. You could see them night after night in stuffy rooms—mainly because most of these people were poor. They had no money back of them to help their propaganda. They worked hard during the day and sat around the table there in these little rooms and studied Gaelic and made themselves Gaelic speakers.

Q. And that has all been acquired through private instruction? There has been no public instruction? A. None whatever. But they forced the Irish language into the schools. They started a propaganda in the newspapers and succeeded in getting Gaelic into the schools. But it is taught as a foreign language. In our own country at that! In our own schools our own language is taught as a foreign language. The development of Gaelic today was caused by a handful of enthusiasts who had the idea and persevered. The Gaelic League was non-sectarian and non-political, and they got into it a good many people who were interested in the language, perhaps, from an historical point of view, perhaps from a religious point of view; and these people joined in because it was non-sectarian and non-political. But those who remained and make themselves speakers of the language had the right idea, the right Irish idea behind them. In addition to that, my brother aided a great many other activities. There was considerable English propaganda going on. These young men started themselves to counteract this propaganda. Part of this English propaganda consisted of visits of royal personages to Ireland. When these royal persons were coming, there was always a great effort to get loyal addresses from corporations and the like. That succeeded for very many years. Then this body of young men took it upon themselves to see that that did not succeed any more. In 1907, when the late King George was visiting Ireland, they had a little room up over the street, and they hung out a black flag instead of the union jack. They hissed and booed a great deal. Of course, needless to say, the police were down on them, but they did not care about that. They took good care to see that the corporations did not pass a loyal address, and the corporations did not. All these things are small, but it is out of those that our success has come today. Not that the soul of Ireland was not always republican—I should like to get that into your heads; but it is because it is more successfully republican. As Mr. Griffiths said in a message to some people in America, "Today is our Valley Forge. Today is our Valley Forge." But if I am not mistaken, at your Valley Forge the soldiers had to bear the brunt of the suffering. But in our Valley Forge the women and children have to bear the brunt of the sufferings. But our turn is coming tomorrow, as surely as yours came. That represents the activities of my brother.

[*The remainder of the testimony of Miss Mary MacSwiney covering events in Ireland to the present, the testimony of members of the Royal Irish Constabulary, and of still other witnesses will be published in supplements to forthcoming issues of The Nation.*]

American Commission
on
Conditions in Ireland

The plight of the Irish people becomes more pitiable daily. All the ordinary securities of life have been abolished in that hapless land, where murder and incendiarism have been adopted as methods of daily strife. Terror is master today throughout the length and breadth of Ireland, and in the towns and throughout the countryside the inhabitants get up each day with apprehension and go to bed in fear.

The British Parliament, by an overwhelming majority, has refused to make the Government of Ireland the subject of an official inquiry. Meanwhile the news we get from Ireland is a medley of contradictions, in which the one clear fact is that a state of anarchy exists in Irish affairs today.

The American Commission on Conditions in Ireland was formed by *The Nation* to make an American contribution toward peace. The first task is to establish publicly, by a thorough and impartial inquiry on a strictly neutral basis, the essential facts of the situation in Ireland.

Only by thoroughly establishing the facts can the inquiry of the Commission serve its purpose in revealing a possible basis for peace and justice in Ireland.

The Commission must prosecute its task quickly and thoroughly. The work is necessarily costly. If the work of the Commission can suggest a way to peace in Ireland, it will be a gift beyond value, both to the Irish and the English people. What will *you* contribute toward such a gift?

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